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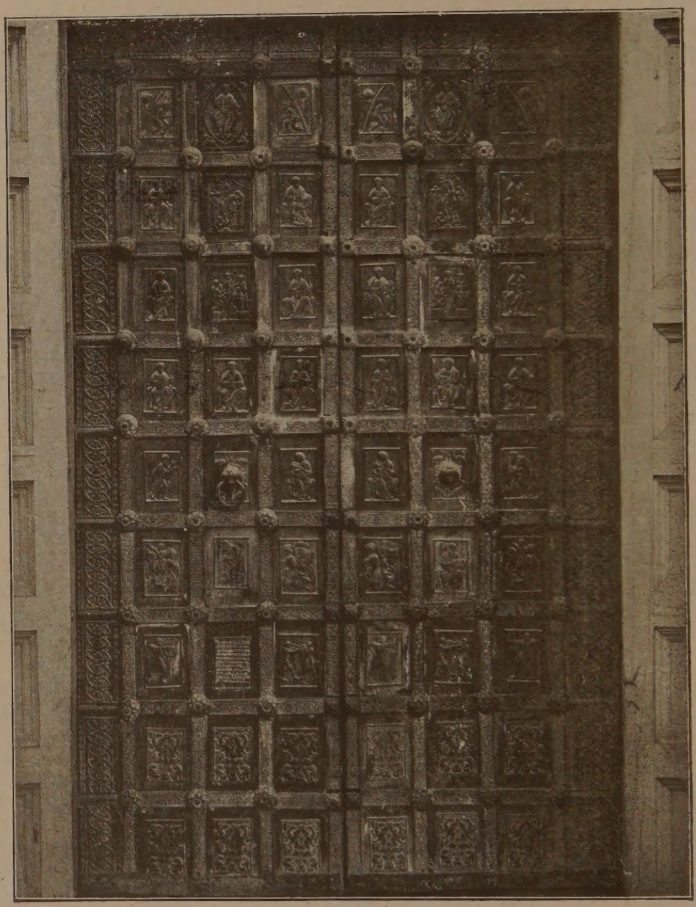
THE CATHEDRALS AND CHURCHES OF ROME AND SOUTHERN ITALY



Ravello Cathedral : Bronze Doorways.

THE CATHEDRALS AND CHURCHES OF ROME AND SOUTHERN ITALY

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By

T. FRANCIS BUMPUS

Twenty-seven Illustrations

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The Cathedrals and Churches of Rome and Southern Italy

CHAPTER I

The Cathedrals and Churches of Rome

ROME is pre-eminently distinguished for the number, magnitude and splendour of her churches. The origin of many of them may be traced to apostolic times; but the antiquity of "churches" properly so called has afforded a theme for discussion to archæologists and historiographers. Some ascribe their date to the peace of Alexander Severus; others to their toleration by Gallienus. However this may be, it is certain that Diocletian, with an intent to abolish the Christian names, published an edict for the demolition of all Christian churches throughout the empire; and so rigorously was the spirit and letter of that cruel proclamation complied with that sacred edifices were razed to the ground, nor did they arise with any degree of external magnificence until after the conversion of Constantine the Great.

I propose to divide the matter collected upon the churches of Rome during several sojourns in that city into two sections, giving a classification of the churches; and then describing certain of the most valuable and inter-

esting I visited, whether from an architectural or historical point of view.

It is in the altars and chapels of the catacombs that Rome possesses the most ancient places of Christian worship. That the catacombs exerted any peculiar influence on the first religious architecture, after the conversion of Constantine, I have been unable to discover any clear evidence. The basilica, or hall of justice, certainly formed the model of the first Christian churches, or places of public worship; while the circular form was, from the same fourth century, used for sepulchral chapels, as Sta Costanza, and the octagonal for baptisteries, as that of Constantine by the Lateran, bearing the title, San Giovanni in Fonte.

The earliest churches were chambers in the houses of the more wealthy Christians, who allowed their poorer brethren to assemble in their houses, usually in the hall or largest room, but at first in smaller rooms, either at the top of the house, as mentioned in the book of the Acts of the Apostles, or in the chambers below the level of the street, which were usual in the houses or palaces of the Roman nobility. Several of these subterranean churches remain, as at Sta Pudenziana, San Clemente, San Sylvestro, etc. In all these cases other chambers were built above them for churches after the peace in the time of Constantine. Some are of opinion that the name of basilica was derived from the early use of the hall, which was also a Court of Justice. Thus at Treves, the Palace of the Archbishops and Electors, now a barrack, stands partly upon the site of an enormous Roman edifice, of which the basilica or imperial hall attached to the palace, a colossal structure of brick and tiles, converted in 1856 into a Protestant Church for the military, is all that remains.

At Rome, the seven great churches made by Constantine, which still retain the name of basilica in an especial manner, were probably all law courts originally, and preserved their old arrangements, which served as types for others, and came to be considered the usual arrangement of a church.

On the full emancipation of the Christians at the beginning of the fourth century, under Constantine, they naturally looked around them to see which of the ancient Classic buildings they could adopt or imitate in the new buildings that they required. The temples were utterly unsuited, if not considered unworthy for the purpose; but in the basilicæ, or halls of justice attached to the palaces, they found what they wanted—structures of a commodious, useful character, and less pretentious than the buildings which had been devoted to Pagan rites. The Christians even retained the name as well as the general form, and imitated many of the details of the halls.

These basilicæ had a wide central nave, with an aisle or two aisles on either side, and a transeptal building at either end. That in the front (the ancient vestibule) was narrow, and served as the narthex or porch of entrance to which those who were not admitted among the congregation were restricted. The wider one at the further end, or rear, accommodated the choir and ministrants, and the great semicircular apse, which extended beyond this transept in face of the central nave, was appropriated to the bishop and elders, with the seat of the former raised above the altar, which was in front of him. Although Classic precedents were thus closely followed in these early Christian experiments, we may already notice that a more reasonable method was employed in the placing

of the arches upon the supports in the arcades which separated the nave and aisles. The absurd piece of entablature, which the Romans had been in the habit of interpolating between the column and the arches, was dispensed with. The columns were used only as supports, and not as applied decoration. Above the arcades the broad space of walling, against which the aisle walls abutted—the triforium-space, so to speak—was left for paintings, for which the practice of the catacombs in appropriate mural enrichment would have been a preparation. The clerestory was a series of simple arched openings, with impost mouldings to the piers, and a flat roof, with tie-beams to each principal, covered the wide area, which would shelter an ample number of worshippers. Here we have all the elements of the later Christian churches, as regards plan and arrangement, but economy or timidity as yet prevented the architects from attempting to vault over these buildings as the Romans had theirs, with great boldness, and as was done generally at a later period. The appliances to resist the thrust of vaulting, and the vertical effect produced by the requisite bearing-shafts, were therefore wanting in these early Christian structures ; and the Corinthian or Composite capital to the columns and architrave mouldings round the aisles were Classic features not as yet eliminated.

For the remainder of the fourth and greater part of the fifth centuries, the progress made in the arts was small. The Christians were still using the Classic details, but they could not sufficiently divest themselves of the corrupt influence of Paganism, and the enervated condition of the inhabitants of the decadent empire sapped the energy even of the bold warriors (the Huns, etc.), who first conquered

and then settled among them. The arts appear to have congealed into a strange state of lifeless conventionalism, and when the Eastern and Western Empires were separated they also were divided into the Byzantine, of which Constantinople was the centre, and the Roman, which still looked to Rome as its head. In the latter the Latin cross plan and basilican arrangement was still persevered in, and the decoration of plain surfaces, by means of mosaic, was carried on with a certain amount of stiff and galvanized grandeur. The Eastern type of plan during the same period was the Greek cross, and the dome was seized upon and made a special feature of the style ; and though mosaic was in this also the material generally affected for decoration, it was treated with peculiar and easily-recognized Byzantine character in the drawing and expression of the figures.

The arts in both seats of the now disunited empire slumbered on uneventfully until each separately was rudely disturbed about the same time—A.D. 568-570—and received new and powerful influences: in Italy from the invasion of the Lombards, and in Greece from that of the Saracens. The result of these events was not only to impart life and energy to each of these provinces, but to intensify their characteristics by rendering Byzantine more Oriental, and Rome more independent and self-reliant.

Ruskin claimed for Venice that it was the rendezvous of these several elements. " The work of the Lombard," he says, " was to give hardihood to the enervated body and enfeebled mind of Christendom, and that of the Arab to punish idolatry, and to proclaim the spirituality of worship;" and if we follow him to that city, upon the stones of

which he preached so eloquently, we shall be able to glean much from some of the buildings which display the varied character he pointed out.

It is not in Italy, however, that such architecture as we desiderate has ever been developed. Italy has always been too deeply affected with the spirit of Classic art and of Paganism frankly to accept any branch of the true Gothic architecture. It was in spite of Italian influence that pure Mediæval art flourished, and it was from it that it received its death-blow.

Monuments of the Middle Ages in Rome may seem at first disappointing, compared with those in other Italian cities. Except the lofty square campanili of numerous churches and the gloomy brick towers that once overshadowed feudal castles, there is, in reality, little that stands out saliently, in any bird's-eye view of the city, to remind us of the eventful periods between the fall of the Western Empire and the Renaissance. Even the Italian art-renovations, prior to the sixteenth century, and some great historical epochs also, failed to leave any such distinct impressions as we might look for. It seems as though the part of Rome had rather been to direct and dominate over, than to participate in, the race of popular enthusiasm.

If we turn, for instance, to the Crusades, we find that the deep-stirring movement, in which the mainsprings of action were kept working at this centre, passed without impress or record to tell at this day how the reverberations of that world-wide excitement, which responded to the appeal of Pope Urban II., at the Council of Clermont, *Deus vult*, were felt here.

Such comparative paucity of monuments at a pre-

eminently monumental centre may be accounted for variously—in part, no doubt, by civil discords and public calamities—especially those that weighed down this capital during the absence of her pontifical sovereigns at Avignon; to the oft-renewed struggles of anti-popes against the legitimately-elected occupants of the see; and to the almost normal state of antagonism between the ecclesiastical and the aristocratic bodies. But the deficiency, relatively speaking, of remains distinctively Christian among those of mediæval origin here seems most of all due to the dominant influences of the Antique, adverse to the growth of styles opposite to its own. The cloisters of the thirteenth century at St John Lateran and St Paul without the Walls; the small, but rich and solemn chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran; the mosaics of basilicas, and various architectural details in other old churches (San Lorenzo, Sta Maria in Cosmedin, etc.), and Rome's one church entirely in the Pointed Gothic style — Sta Maria Sopra Minerva — may rank among exquisite creations of Christian art-genius; but many others, also ancient, are either insignificant, or have been spoiled by modern touches. Not a single Roman artist is known to us by name between the fifth and ninth centuries; yet, even at periods when culture and activity were at their lowest, Rome was still recognized as the seat of a school deemed Classic, and giving its name to all analogous artistic works. Thus, in the chronicles of Subiaco (cited by Muratori, *Rev. It Script.*, i. xx. 4), do we read that, about 1055, an abbot, Joannes, erected before the porch of that monastery what is described as *arcum Romano opere*, "an arch in the Roman style." One church alone, in Rome, shows us what the Pointed Gothic was

like—the great above-mentioned Dominican one of Sta Maria Sopra Minerva. Such remains of the period comprised between the tenth and the fifteenth century as exist imbedded in, or scattered about, the few great churches which the limits of this volume permit me to describe, will therefore receive special attention, either on account of their beauty or as being *raræ aves in terra.*

The study of mediæval art in Rome might be begun with a particular class of objects, less altered by modern work than others. I refer to those fine old campanili, or belfries, of which there are forty in the city, rising so conspicuously in square towers of brickwork, mostly adorned with inlaid crosses and discs of porphyry, and bright green and yellow earthenware,* and divided by cornices (the loftier by seven such) of marble or terra-cotta corbels, between which are open arcade-windows with marble colonnettes of various sizes, whose heavy and barbaric capitals are also various. That ornamentation with coloured earthenware and porphyry, that has been in some instances torn off or otherwise lost, is the trace of history on their time-worn walls. It was first adopted by the Pisans, whose example other cities followed, after that people had become masters of Corsica in the last decade of the eleventh century, where they found the manufacture of pottery, introduced by the Saracens, in a flourishing state ; and to their taste is due this first application of such coloured plates (as we see in almost all these towers) for a species of inlaid work that relieves the monotony of their brick surfaces. These surfaces do not appear to have been covered with stucco in any part, nor indeed was it required from the elegance of the brick construction, but in these, still

* Also of green and blue smalt, and even of bronze.

Rome : Sta. Maria in Cosmedin.

Rome : Sta. Francesca Romana.

well preserved, the decorations above alluded to have been let in. None appear to have been crowned originally with spires, but to have been terminated by a flat terrace over the uppermost bell-loft, and surrounded by a decorated cornice, in the more elegant ones of white marble. There is some variation in the disposition of the upper lofts, that of Sta Pudenziana being one of the most graceful in this respect. There is no general rule as to the position of these campanili with regard to the churches to which they were attached. In some cases they are entirely attached, as at SS. Giovanni e Paolo; in others they are to be found at the sides of the principal entrances, as at Sta Maria Maggiore and Sta Pudenziana; whilst in others still they stand at the extremity of the transepts. Sta Croce and San Lorenzo offer examples of belfries in this position. It is difficult to determine the respective ages of all the Roman belfry towers, but impossible to admit what Italian and some other archæologists have claimed for their high antiquity. The most ancient churches that still have such towers, *relatively* ancient also, are Sta Pudenziana, the primitive cathedral, consecrated, or rather its site first chosen for sacred use, in the house of the well-known senator, Pudens, by St Pius I., about the year 146; the Lateran, whose two belfries (of the fifteenth century) are insignificant; Sta Maria Maggiore, San Giorgio in Velabro; * Sta Maria Campo Marzio, built for the Greek Basilians, and with *two*, instead of (as now) but one church within its cloisters—also of the seventh century; and

* This church, situated in the vicinity of the "Temple of Vesta" and Sta Maria in Cosmedin, is unfortunately open but seldom. No visitor should, however, quit Rome without making an effort to see it, as the interior is most charming.

San Silvestro in Capite, founded by Pope St Paul I., with a contiguous monastery, above, or absorbing, the mansion of his forefathers. To the eighth century have been ascribed the towers of Sta Maria in Cosmedin (one of the finest of the Roman campanili) and San Giovanni à Porta Latina ; to the ninth century, those of SS. Prassede, Cecilia, Maria Nuova (or Sta Francesca Romana)—a striking example—and San Michele in Sassia near the Vatican colonnades, one of the most graceful and finely proportioned.

But tradition is not proof, and in the absence of written evidence the best test as to the ages of buildings must be sought in analogies of construction ; applying which to the objects in question I believe it may be determined that the Roman belfries, taken in the aggregate, should be dated at periods ranging between the latter years of the eleventh century and the second half of the fifteenth—though it seems certain that that of the ancient Ostian basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura stood long before the close of the former epoch. If we observe one among the finest, the tower of Sta Maria Nuova, and contrast it with the building it rises from (on the site of a Pagan temple) we shall perceive how superior its masonry (though poor compared with the antique) is to that of the nave and aisle of its church, in part visible on the eastern side : the latter a specimen of most barbaric construction. And if we ascend that tower we may not only enjoy a glorious panorama, but observe the interesting signs of improvement in mediæval building, with much curious use (or abuse) of antique details, columns, capitals, and mouldings, in marble. A dim, spectral-looking place is the interior of that tower at Sta Prassede (exteriorly of stunted form) whose lower wall-surfaces are covered on three sides with

almost obliterated frescoes, perhaps of the ninth century, hardly one figure being distinguishable, though we discern the faint designs of groups, and may suppose the series to represent the life of St Agnes. To which saint we know, from Anastasius, that a chapel was dedicated at Sta Prassede by Pope Pascal I., who rebuilt this church early in the ninth century. Such decoration shows clearly that we have here a building not intended for a belfry, but a portion of the original church, adorned (perhaps entirely covered) with paintings, as was the olden usage, now best exemplified in the subterranean basilica of San Clemente. If we ascend the rickety wooden stairs in that tower we may see that the part visible from without, above the church walls, has no other foundation than this structure, with painted surfaces cut off from the transepts, just as on the other side another section has been separated, in order to be converted into a chapel, from the space lateral to the high altar. It is thus apparent that the actual tower must be the more modern part, probably dating from the first quarter of the twelfth century, when Sta Prassede was restored; and to about the same date must be referred the more graceful campanile of Sta Pudenziana, two renovations of which church, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are on record.

We may assume that the diminutive tower of an equally diminutive church on the river side in Trastevere, first dedicated as the SS. Salvatore, but now known as Sta Maria in Cuppella, *may* be the most ancient in Rome, and belong to the original structure, whose precise date is known, built in 1090, and attached to a hospital founded by the noble matron canonized as Sta Francesca Romana. Others among these towers, noticeable for picturesque and

interesting character, that may be assigned with something like certainty to periods within successive centuries, are, and may be dated. Of the twelfth century Sta Maria in Cosmedin, San Lorenzo in Lucina (now shorn of its original height), Sta Maria in Monticelli, Sta Maria in Trastevere, San Eustachio, the above-mentioned San Silvestro and San Giovanni à Porta Latina, San Bartolommeo on the Tiber island, near the circular temple of Vesta, San Salvatore, "alle Cappelle," a small but remarkable example, and another in the Trastevere quarter, San Salvatore in Creste, a church with some good mediæval masonry and terra-cotta cornices, though mostly marked, as is its tower also, by modern work of the feeblest character. To the thirteenth century may be assigned the campanili of Sta Cecilia, the aforesaid Sta Maria in Trastevere, San Giorgio in Velabro * and San Michele in Sassia, Santa Croce, San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, San Alessio in Aventino, and SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Of all these examples the last-named is the most majestic. There is a fourteenth-century campanile, not improved by the interpolation of much modern work, at Sta Maria Maggiore, but of great height and elegant contour, and fifteenth-century ones at San Sisto on the Appian Way, San Spirito

* This is one of the noblest, simplest, and least altered of the early Roman churches, having an unbroken series of baseless Corinthian columns supporting plain round arches, a wall space between the arcades and the clerestory, a flat wooden roof of great simplicity, and an apse opening by an arch of the same height from the nave. In front of this arch stands the High Altar under a baldachino, its pillars supporting an entablature instead of arches, and two receding stories of open arcades crowned by a cupola and a lantern over all. The convergence of the nave and its aisles in the direction of the choir is a noticeable feature in this fine old basilica, which, as I have already said, is rarely to be found open.

and Sta Maria dell' Amina. The last is a light, graceful tower, with Ionic pilasters, and a small tapering spire. In stormy periods the loftier of these campanili served for purposes of defence or attack, and were used also, it seems, for concealment of treasure.

After another form, since so prevalent in Rome, swelling into the bulbous cupola, had been adopted in place of the high quadrate structure, that latter venerable type fell into disuse. The first cupola in Rome was raised above San Agostino, in 1488, by the architect, Baccio Pintelli. And how completely modern Italian architects have departed not only from the design, but also the position of the campanile, when they have undertaken to rebuild, is manifest in San Paolo fuori le Mura, where the new tower, in the worst possible style, stands at the eastern extremity, instead of flanking the façade at the west.*

Of the basilican type, more or less perfect or varied, are all the ancient churches of Rome built before the introduction of the Pointed style : with the exception of some formed in, or out of, previously existing pagan buildings ; and with the remarkable exception of the singular church of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio.

The history of all these churches is very similar. Churches were built on these sites in the first ages, which have been rebuilt or restored or enlarged, over and over again, by subsequent popes. So that it is difficult to assign confidently the precise date of any building, even although there remain many records of the works undertaken by various pontiffs, besides numerous contemporaneous inscriptions on the buildings themselves.

* This church, it will be remembered, having been almost completely burnt down in 1823.

The earliest churches were constructed with columns taken from antique temples or other edifices.* In the later ones ruder columns denote the debasement of architecture. Some of the first churches have entablatures over their columns instead of arches, or have arches constructed (to bear the clerestory walls) over the entablatures.

The roofs of all the basilicas were of the same kind; low-pitched wooden ones with massy tie beams, king-posts and diagonal struts. This type of roof prevailed into quite the late Romanesque period, and is in many respects far more solemn and appropriate, not to say truthful, than the wretched ribless quadripartite vaults which displaced so many of the wooden ceilings during the Renaissance epoch. The apses had usually semicircular vaults, and these, together with the faces and the soffits of the arch of triumph, were generally richly adorned with mosaics.† The floors also were almost universally laid with beautiful mosaics, of the kind so often miscalled Opus Alexandrinum, of which the pavements of the sanctuary in West-

* We may look for these antique arcades in the following churches, in several of which they have survived that baroque modernization to which so many Roman ecclesiastical interiors have been subjected: SS. Maria Maggiore, Lorenzo fuori le Mura, Agnese fuori le Mura, Anastasio, Bartolommeo in Isola, Bibiana, Clemente, Costanza, Crisogono, Croce in Gerusalemme, Giorgio in Velabro, Giovanni e Paolo, Giovanni a Porta Latina, Marco, Maria in Aracœli, Maria in Cosmedin, Maria in Trastevere, Martino ai Monti, Nereo ed Achilleo, Prassede, Prisca, Pudenziana, Quattro Incoronati, Saba, Sabina, Stefano Rotondo, and Vincenzo ed Anastasio.

† The finest examples of mediæval mosaic decoration may be looked for in the following churches: St Peter's (above the great entrance), SS. Giovanni in Laterano, Maria Maggiore, Paolo fuori le Mura, Lorenzo, Agnese fuori le Mura, Cecilia, Clemente, Costanza, Francesca Romana, Marco, Maria in Cosmedin, Maria in Trastevere, Nereo ed Achilleo, Pietro in Vincoli, Prassede and Pudenziana. The most

Rome : Sta. Sabina.

Rome : San Stefano Rotondo.

minster Abbey, and about the site of the shrine at Canterbury, will give some idea. Another and more minute kind of mosaic was extensively used with beautiful effect in adorning columns and other ornaments of white marble.

The best authorities concur in the opinion that the earliest Christian edifices in Rome are the following:

Sta Agnese fuori le Mura, Sta Balbina, Sta Bibiana, Sta Costanza, San Crisogono, San Giovanni in Fonte (the Lateran Baptistery), San Giovanni ad Portam Latinam, San Giorgio in Velabro (seldom open), San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, Sta Maria Maggiore, San Paolo fuori le Mura (almost entirely rebuilt after a fire in 1823), San Pietro ad Vincula, SS. Quattro Coronati, Sta Sabina, and San Ste fano Rotondo.

Of a second epoch are the following: San Clemente, Sta-Croce in Gerusalemme, San Giovanni Laterano, Sta Maria in Aracœli, Sta Maria in Cosmedin, Sta Maria in Trastevere, San Martino ai Monti, San Michele in Borgo, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, San Niccolo in Carcere, Sta Prassede, and Sta Saba. San Bartolommeo, on the Tiber Island, where it may be visited in conjunction with San Giorgio, Sta Maria in Cosmedin, and the "Temple of Vesta" is of the tenth century, and was perhaps the last church built in Rome before the "dark ages" set in. SS. Giovanni e Paolo is an exceptional church; though of basilican plan its Romanesque style is that of the Rhine. SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio is a most singular anticipation of a Pointed plan, with detail still Romanesque. Sta Maria Sopra Minerva is a pure Pointed church of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries; and San Agostino (1483) is of a

remarkable productions of this species of decoration in Renaissance times are to be seen in St Peter's and Sta Maria del Popolo.

late Pointed type with Renaissance detail. Other churches, as, *e.g.*, San Pietro in Montorio, seem to have Pointed shells, and others, such as Sta Maria in Aracoeli, were restored in Pointed. The chapels of San Lorenzo in the Vatican, and one in San Clemente, are Pointed, and there are numerous Gothic tombs, baldachini, and other details in churches whose exteriors promise but little of interest.

The Renaissance embraces by far the largest number of churches in Rome, from St Peter's downwards, among those most worthy of notice, either for their architecture or the frescoes, pictures and other works of art they contain, being : Sta Agnese Piazza Navona, San Agostino, Sant' Andrea al Quirinale, Sant Andrea delle Valle, San Carlo a Catinari, the Chiesa Nuova, Il Gesù, Sta Maria degli Angeli, Sta Maria del Popolo, Sta Maria in Vallicella, Sta Maria della Pace, San Paolo alle tre Fontane, San Silvestro al Quirinale, San Tommaso degli Inglesi or St Thomas of Canterbury, and La Trinita de' Monti. Besides these there are countless churches and chapels of confirmed Italian architecture, many of them the mere dregs of that school, but which in many instances have some interesting associations or can boast some work of art.

The simplest basilican plan is a nave with one aisle on either side, and an apse. Of this kind are SS. Agata, Agnese, f.d.m., Bibiana, Cecilia, Clemente, Giorgio in Velabro, Giovanni ad Portam, Giovanni e Paolo, Marco, Maria in Cosmedin, Maria in Domnica, Martino, Michele in Borgo, Nereo ad Achilleo, Prisca, Pudenziana, Saba and Sabina.

In the following churches we find a transept between the apse and the nave with its two aisles, not, however, extending beyond the breadth of the

latter, so that the building appears as a parallelogram in plan.

SS. Alessio, Anastasia, Crisogono, Croce in Gerusalemme, Maria Maggiore, Maria in Trastevere, Pancrazio, Pietro ad Vincula, and Quattro Coronati.

Similar to the last, except that the transept projects, or has been extended, beyond the breadth of the aisles, are SS. Maria in Aracœli and Prassede. San Giovanni Laterano and San Paolo (f.d.m.), and the old St Peter's, were specimens of the larger class of basilicas, with double aisles on either side of the nave, besides a transept and apse. San Lorenzo, f.d.m., has a nave and two aisles, and a square-ended choir with aisles all round, formed out of an ancient building, and therefore exceptional. Basilicas without aisles, having merely a nave and apse, are SS. Balbina, Cesareo, and Cosimo e Damiano.

Round or octagonal (ancient) churches are SS. Costanza, Giovanni in Fonte, Stefano-Rotondo and Teodoro. SS. Adriano, Bernardo, Maria Egiziaca, Maria degli Angeli, Maria del Sole, Maria ad Martyres (the Pantheon), and Sant' Urbano alla Caffarella, are churches evolved out of temples or other ancient buildings.

The basilicas which have entablatures instead of arches upon their lateral columns are SS. Bibiana, Crisogono, Lorenzo, f.d.m., Maria in Trastevere, Martino and Prassede. The atrium is found perfect at San Clemente, modernized in San Gregorio, and imperfect in San Martino and SS. Quattro Coronati. Vestibules are more general; we meet with them in SS. Agnese, f.d.m., Alessio, Balbina, Bartolommeo, Cecilia, Crisogono, Giorgio in Velabro, Giovanni ad Portam, Giovanni e

Paolo, Marco, Maria in Trastevere, Pietro in Vincoli, Sabina, and Vincenzo ed Anastasio.

Confessionaries, or crypts beneath the high altars in basilican churches, are found at SS. Bartolommeo, Cecilia, Cesareo, Crisogono, Lorenzo, f.d.m., Marco, Maria in Domnica, Martino, Pancrazio, Prisca, Quattro Coronati, and Sabina. But most of the churches not included in this list have their apses and tribunes raised, although there may be no crypt below.

San Clemente retains its *chorus cantorum* perfect; in Sta Agnese, f.d.m., it is modernized; it may be traced in San Lorenzo, f.d.m., and it has been restored in Sta Maria in Cosmedin and Sta Maria in Trastevere.

The mediævalists in Italy showed some originality in planning their churches, but it was left for their versatile successors, more especially of the Cinque-Cento period and that of the earlier and better confirmed Italian, to show what variety of treatment was possible in work of this kind. Almost every city or important town in Italy illustrates this most forcibly, for out of the immense number of churches which one sees in different parts of the country—and in Venice especially—hardly a single one repeats the same plan; the peculiarities of the various sites, and the epoch being so favourable to architecture, may have had something to do with this. Plans circular, elliptical, octagonal, rectangular and cruciform, and combinations of these forms in endless variety. It is not necessary, however, to journey to Italy in order to find illustrations of this genius. London furnishes us with admirable examples in the city churches of Sir Christopher Wren, and those of his scholar and domestic clerk, Nicholas Hawksmoor.

The orientation of churches in Rome is a question of great interest. It has often been assumed that the Roman use was to orientate churches always to the west; that is to have the apse and altar at the west part of the building, and the chief entrance at the east end. This way would be the reverse of the custom throughout Northern Europe—which is to always have the principal entrance at the west and the choir and altar at the east end of a church—but for the circumstance that it was the custom to turn the altar round as it were; in other words, for the celebrant to stand behind the altar with his back to the apse, and looking over the altar towards the people in the nave. In this case, if the basilica orientated west, the priest and altar would obviously face, or orientate correctly.*

It is not improbable that although correct orientation was a law of the ancient church generally, yet it could not be made an essential rule in Rome for the very same reason that explains faulty orientation in some of the old cities of Northern Europe: viz., that free sites could not always be had, and that the lines of existing streets had to be followed. Many of the most ancient Roman churches will be found to lie parallel with, or else at right angles to, existing streets, which we know to occupy the same directions as in ancient Rome. Examples are SS. Cesareo, Clemente, Giorgio in Velabro, Giovanni ad Portam, Maria in Trastevere, and Lorenzo in Pane e Perna. But where large sites were probably cleared, then, as in St

* When, in the course of this volume, I make use of the term "west front," etc., I would wish to be understood that part of the building which in a church usually faces that quarter. In many churches of Rome the building does not stand due east or west. I prefer, however, to make use of the accustomed terms to avoid the confusion which would ensue from particularizing the exact situation of them.

Peter's and the Lateran, the basilicas were made to orientate west, while their altars orientate east; that is, the orientation of the altar was preferred to that of the church.

We must also bear in mind the practical difficulty presented or rather occasioned by the peculiar basilican arrangement. The bishop and presbyters, being in the apse behind the altar, would have been in great measure deprived of their share in the Liturgy if the altar had not been made to orientate differently from the church. The natural way, considering their locality, was to orientate the altar so that the celebrant should stand with his back to them. This accordingly was done, and the people were enabled to witness the eucharistic service by the altar being greatly raised and having no reredos or altarpiece of any kind to obstruct their view. It will simplify the reader's thoughts on this subject to remember that the basilican arrangement only differs from our own in this, that the choir and altar are inverted. If in a basilica one could turn the apse and the altar quite round, the result would be our own arrangement, the pontifical chair of course making way for the rood-screen, and the bishop's seat being placed on one side.

The impossibility of orientating both altar and church rightly, so long as the basilican arrangement was retained, seems to be the one great reason for this arrangement being discarded. In the churches of Ravenna, Torcello, Toscanella and San Miniato at Florence, the altars are made (at least now) to orientate like the churches; and in Rome itself churches built at a later date, such as Sta Maria del Popolo, Sta Maria Sopra Minerva, and SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, are orientated rightly both in themselves and their altars.

Space precludes me from entering further into this subject. I will therefore merely give the results of the classification of forty-three churches of the ante-Renaissance in Rome whose orientation I ascertained. Twelve orientate nearly east: SS. Adriano, Agata, Anastasia, Apostoli, Bibiana, Maria in Aracœli, Maria Sopra Minerva, Maria del Popolo, Pietro in Vincoli, Prisca, Sabina and Vincenzo ed Anastasio.

Five orientate more decidedly south-east: SS. Agnese, Bartolommeo all' Isola, Croce in Gerusalemme, Giovanni ad Portam and Maria in Cosmedin.

Two orientate to the north-east: San Giorgio in Velabro and San Lorenzo in Pane e Perna. Thus nineteen have an easternly direction; and exactly nineteen have a westernly direction, as follows: Six orientate to the west: SS. Balbina, Giovanni Laterano, Maria in Domnica, Niccolo in Carcere, Pietro in Montorio, and St Peter's.

Eleven point to the north-west: SS. Cecilia, Clemente, Crisogono, Giovanni e Paolo, Maria Maggiore, Maria in Trastevere, Martino ai Monti, Pancrazio, f.d.m., Prassede, Pudenziana, Quattro Coronati.

Two orientate to the south-west: San Cesareo and SS. Nereo ed Achilleo.

Three have a northern orientation: SS. Agostino, Alessio and Marco; and two with a southern one: San Gregorio and Sta Saba.

In seven cases both the churches and altars orientate rightly, to the east; that is, the celebrant faces east, with his back to the people in the nave. These churches are: SS. Agnese, Apostoli, Bartolommeo all' Isola, Maria in Aracœli, Sopra Minerva and del Popolo, and San Pietro in Vincoli.

Two, San Martino and Sta Prassede, have a real orientation to the north-west; and their altars orientate in the same way, the celebrant having his back to the nave. In eighteen instances the altar orientates in the opposite way to the church; in other words, the celebrant stands with his back to the apse and his face to the people.

Out of these churches no less than thirteen have a western orientation, so that their altars orientate truly to the east. These are: SS. Balbina, Cecilia, Cesareo, Crisogono, Clemente, Giovanni Laterano, Maria in Domnica, Maggiore and Trastevere; SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Niccolo in Carcere, Pancrazio and St Peter's. Two, viz., Sant' Alessio and San Marco, orientate to the north, and their altars consequently face south. The remaining three, SS. Maria in Cosmedin, Pietro in Vincoli, and Sabina, orientating themselves truly to the east, have their altars facing due west.

From the examples above tabulated one is led to infer that the true orientation of the altar was an object with the first church-builders; and that therefore, the basilican arrangement being given, the church itself was, if possible, made to face the west; but that in case the site did not permit it, any orientation both of church and altar was allowed. In the later churches the orientation of the church and altar was made if possible the same, and that an eastern one; that is to say, the *true* law of orientation obtained in Rome during the short time that it could, viz., in the interval between the disuse of the basilican type and the victory of the Renaissance.

The almost universal practice in the Roman Church now is for the celebrant (whether himself orientating rightly or not) to turn his back to the people. It has never

been my fortune to see a mass celebrated at any of the ancient altars in Rome, where the officiant would face the nave. And although the practice of having the stalls around the walls of an apse behind the altar—the altar thus standing between the nave and the choir, and not (as in the north of Europe) at the far end of the choir—is almost universal in Italy, yet in very few cases (I believe) has the primitive or basilican position of the celebrant been retained. The altars alone have been, as it were, turned round : and thence has resulted a very bad arrangement, in which the clergy in the choir really cannot witness the Liturgy, and the actual sanctuary is exposed (not infrequently without any screen or rails whatever) to the nave. Thus the symbolism of the material church, and due reverence, and even constructional propriety, are alike violated.

There are five great basilicas and eight lesser ones in Rome and its immediate vicinity. The first are called Patriarchal, in honour of the patriarchs of the Catholic Church, viz., of Rome itself, of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, and are : the Vatican or St Peter's ; the Lateran or St John's ; the Liberian or Sta Maria Maggiore ; the Ostian or St Paul's, and San Lorenzo, the two latter being without the walls. Of the minor basilicas, the most remarkable are the Sessorian or Sta Croce in Gerusalemme, the Appian or San Sebastiano, the Constantinian or SS. Apostoli, the Eudoxian or San Pietro in Vincula, etc. The five principal basilicas will be described first as constituting the most important ecclesiastical edifices in the capital of Christianity, commencing, as in duty bound, with that most magnificent of Christian temples,

St Peter's

a monument which has passed through the strangest vicissitudes, some of which have modified and transformed its physiognomy.

St Peter's occupies the site where was in ancient times the circus of Nero, the scene of so many Christian martyrdoms; and here, about a century after the crucifixion of Our Lord, the fourth successor of St Peter, St Anacletus, caused a sanctuary to be erected. About two hundred years later the Emperor Constantine, converted to Christianity, to show himself worthy of the baptism he had just received, undertook to construct, on the ruins of this sanctuary of Anacletus, a sumptuous basilica, which should be rectangular in form, and divided into a nave with two aisles on either side by four rows of columns, each division being entered by a separate door in the façade, in this particular greatly resembling the basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura as we see it to-day. After the manner of the time, the structure was preceded by an open square court surrounded with porticoes, of which no trace remains.*

In 1440 this magnificent basilica of Constantine threatened ruin, and Nicholas V., about the middle of the fifteenth century, conceived the idea of building a new metropolitan church. Nicholas was that Pope of enterprise and genius who practically inaugurated the era of the

* The façade of this basilica may be seen in Raffaele's fresco of the Incendio del Borgo; and the interior is introduced in that representing the coronation of Charlemagne, and still better in a painting in the chapel of Sta Maria in Portico in the subterranean church.

Renaissance. He loved art for itself, not for the sake of mere show and fashion like some of his predecessors.

The architects of this new structure were Bernardino Rossellini and Leon Battista Alberti; but it had not progressed far when Nicholas died and the work was instantly abandoned. Paul II. continued the designs, but it was advancing very slowly at the accession of Julius II., who determined, with his well-known energy, to resume the works on a grander and more systematic plan. It was resolved to start *de novo*, paying no regard to the existing new foundations and walls.

A Ligurian by birth, Pope Julius, by the boldness of his conceptions and the firmness with which he followed them up, may be properly regarded as one of those men of true genius of whom humanity can boast. Ambitious of signalizing his reign by the erection of architectural works such as the world could not match, this Pope conceived the idea of fusing the old and new buildings into one grand mass, and of raising a temple dedicated to St Peter on the grandest scale. The carrying out of both these grand designs he confided to Bramante—assuredly one of the artists whose works most powerfully contributed to enhance the reputation of the epoch to which he belonged. Fate willed it that he should also be the uncle of Raffaele, so that the glory of the greatest of Italian painters and that of the grandest architect are involved one in the other, and belong to the same family. Bramante's works possess a more classical character than those of any other architect of the Renaissance school, and his design for St Peter's was preferred by Julius to a great many others by the most celebrated men of his time. He it was who suggested the dome, but unfortunately, after his death, men

of less taste and ability were allowed to tamper with his design, and St Peter's is a very different edifice from what it would have been had Bramante's been adhered to.

The first stone was laid with great ceremony, 18th April 1506; "Not"—as Michael Angelo observes in one of his letters—"after an obscure or confused plan, but in accordance with a design which was clear, comprehensive and luminous." Michael Angelo remarked, "All who depart from the original design must injure it," and yet he himself unfortunately did so. The conception and partial execution of this stupendous monument of constructive and artistic skill would alone be sufficient to confer deathless fame upon its author, who, however, was not destined to see its completion, for he died one year after the death of his patron—we may almost say coadjutor—the warlike Julius, in 1514, leaving by will the charge of the continuance of the work to his pupil, Raffaele da Urbino, with whom were associated Giuliano da San Gallo, and Fra Giocondo of Verona, the final arrangement, as at present seen, being mainly due to Michael Angelo.

It is impossible to judge Bramante by St Peter's as it now appears; but whatever merit there is in it belongs to Bramante, I may almost add, as certainly what is faulty is due to those ill-advised successors who departed from his original design. Overlaid as the interior now is with tawdry ornamentation in the worst possible taste, its effect is still most imposing. Externally it must be pronounced a failure, with very few redeeming features, for of the style formed by Bramante it affords no trace. That style, in Rome at least, was broad, simple and elegant. His pro-

portions are excellent, his details most studied, his use of ornament judiciously small. If there is an objection to be made to its style, it is that of a certain flatness of appearance, and absence of effect, arising from the slightness of his projections and the adoption of thin pilasters and flat rustication as a wall ornament. Those seen in front cast but little shadow, and are of slight effect. Seen in perspective, however, the general appearance of the wall is pleasing and ornamental.

Bramante's design for St Peter's was indeed grandiose and colossal, but, in addition to the fact that the money at command was not enough to provide for his vast conception, death overtook him and prevented his carrying his gigantic undertaking to completion. We cannot even form an opinion of the value of his plan, because it was altered by the architects who succeeded him, each of whom, for personal reason, or because they felt it incumbent upon them to flatter the several pontiffs who ascended the throne, one after the other found it desirable to introduce changes so as finally to totally change its spirit. In the first place, as I have already stated, there followed Raffaele and Giulio da San Gallo, who, after the death of Julius II., changed the design and even altered parts already newly erected. Then came Peruzzi, who would have liked to pull down the entire building and make a fresh start, and then in the last place came Michael Angelo, who knew how to make all details give way before his iron will, and conform themselves to his taste and manner of conceiving and understanding things. But all contemporary writers are agreed that none of these had succeeded in imagining anything as sumptuous and magnificent as that which Bramante had conceived, and that

St Peter's would have been a monument much more worthy of admiration if Bramante's ideas had been respected. Even Vasari dares to express this belief, in spite of his love for and partiality towards Michael Angelo, which so often made him unjust towards others. The Antonio da San Gallo alluded to above appears, from sketches of his extant at Florence, to have proposed immense developments in the plan of St Peter's—any one of which was far superior to the building as now carried out, but perhaps not so beautiful, as a complete idea, as the original one of Bramante. Peruzzi's studies, also still in existence, evince great retrenchment. Several of these designs suggest buildings of singular beauty, with a nave but little longer than the other arms of the cross, and colonnettes introduced (an idea adumbrated in Bramante's plans), giving interest to the dreary immensity of the gigantic pilasters of stucco rising from the pavement of the interior to the vault. It would appear, at least, that he had excogitated a plan based on the Greek cross, and very similar to Bramante's. Antonio da San Gallo, the younger, who superintended the works from 1536 to 1546, took the Greek cross of Peruzzi, to which he added a kind of vestibule and a vast façade outside of this running from north to south, with towers projecting beyond. This plan has much interest for us, as there is a good deal about it which apparently influenced Wren in what is generally called his favourite design for St Paul's. For instance, we have the façade wider than the vestibule, the vestibule itself, and then the main fabric, on the Greek cross plan; the essential difference being that Wren's dome was to be supported upon eight piers, whilst San Gallo had only four constructed. Per-

haps San Gallo's arrangement was the more majestic of the two.

By this time (c. 1540) considerable progress had been made with St Peter's. The four great piers and arches which were to carry the dome were finished.

The surrounding work of the (ecclesiologically) eastern limb and the apsidal transepts was complete, also the first bay of the nave on either side.

It was Leo X., Julius II.'s successor in the papal chair, who entrusted the work, on the death of Bramante, to the young Raffaele and Giuliano San Gallo. Their first care was to consolidate the substructures of the four great piers, which did not appear to them to be sufficiently strong to carry the enormous dome which Bramante intended to plant upon them. Bramante had been much impressed at Florence by Brunelleschi's dome, which is still a masterpiece of combined grace and boldness, to be in keeping with the programme the Pope had prepared for him. It was Raffaele who, setting his love for an artistic ideal above the veneration he had for his uncle, changed the general plan of the church, giving it the Latin cross form that we see to-day. Unfortunately death overtook this incomparable artist, too, in his prime, and from 1520 to 1546 the work had to be entrusted to divers architects, who, with a mixture of vanity and ignorance, often made changes in the design of the structure, which thus grew without the spirit of natural development and underwent alterations, the unfortunate effects of which its general style felt.

At length, in 1546, Pope Paul III. broke through the intrigues which, hitherto, had kept Michael Angelo in the background and placed the work in his hands. He cut

down San Gallo's plan without the least compunction, abandoned the vestibule, made a clean sweep of everything in the shape of aisles or flanking chapels (things, it must be remembered, which were essential for use and indispensable to a complete plan) and cut down the scheme to one of the greatest simplicity. The vastness of the dimensions would, there can be no doubt, have made this a most impressive interior, aided by fine detail, but it could never have attained the effect of Bramante's or the younger San Gallo's designs. In fact, he did his best to completely do away with all impressiveness by the huge and vulgar character of the detail. The Greek cross was completed, and Angelo's design for the dome was almost a *fait accompli*, when death snatched him away, in 1564. The dome was finished nine years later by Jacopo della Porta, who entirely respected Michael Angelo's design. This was not the case, however, with the façade, which, according to Angelo's design, was less commonplace than the one we see now, with its enormous columns reaching from top to bottom and planted against the wall. He intended the columns to be detached, forming a portico like that of the Pantheon and those of the great monuments of antiquity, which are not heavy in spite of their often huge proportions, simply because light and air have free play over their exterior contexture. The present façade was built of Travertine, from the designs of Carlo Maderno in the beginning of the seventeenth century. To this " wretched plasterer from Como," as Forsyth indignantly calls him, we owe the lengthened nave, and for both he has been severely, perhaps too severely, censured. For the latter, he may plead in justification the wishes of the Pope, Paul V., who determined to include within the new

building the whole space occupied by the old basilica. For the defects of the façade, he may urge in extenuation the necessity of a balcony, from which the papal benediction may be given, but surely that might have been gained and not so much lost. The balcony might have been made the central subject, around which all the rest should be disposed; or it might have been blended with the other details of the front without undue prominence, and without impairing the general effect.

The view of St Peter's dome from twenty miles off, and a few others from more or less miles off, are in truth all the really striking sights of the highest dome in the world. It seems as if everything connected with St Peter's were fated to be a gigantic blunder. Read Harford's *Life of Michael Angelo*, and look at his plan of the church as the great designer intended it to be, and his other plan of the church as it is now. The dome is a fine one in itself—not well placed upon its base, from which it recedes like an egg in a cup; but this would have been a trifle had it been grandly lifted in the air as Michael Angelo intended, and as Wren lifted the dome of St Paul's. But as it is now, the dome is sunk beneath the parapet of a perfectly hideous façade, which façade itself in its turn is overtopped by the shapeless masses of the Vatican, which looks like a union workhouse built on top of a railway station, and a gigantic printing office superimposed as an attic and an afterthought. But when we are beneath the dome the spirit of criticism, which has hitherto attended us with whispers of doubt and suggestions of improvement, goes no further. Astonishment and admiration break upon the mind and transport it. To say that the dome of St Peter's, viewed from within, is sublime is a cold commonplace. In

sublimity it is so much beyond all other architectural creations that it demands epithets of its own. There is no work of man's hands that is similar or second to it. Vast as it is, it rests upon its supporting piers in such serene tranquillity that it seems to have been lifted and expanded by the elastic force of the air which it clasps. Under its majestic vault the soul dilates. To act like the hero—to endure like the martyr—seems no more than the natural state of man. But this is anticipating.

The great colonnade, which forms so marked a feature in the external effect of St Peter's, was commenced in 1667 by Bernini, who was responsible for the great baldachino or canopy covering the high altar, statuary and other decorations of the interior. Extending in a curved form, like wings, from each side of the building, it (together with the fountain and obelisk of the central space) serves materially to relieve the sprawling heaviness of that colossal piece of ugliness, the façade. These colonnades are 56 feet wide, and consist of four rows of 284 Roman Doric columns, in all, 48 feet high, and arranged with a broad central passage for two carriages to pass. Imposing from their size, and not bad in effect, they will never be regarded however as models of art by any student. In themselves they are commonplace, but they serve their purpose, and in comparison with the gaudy and meretricious style pervading the basilica generally are quite a relief to the eye from their comparative simplicity.

St Peter's loses a great deal of its size owing to the enormous area of the piazza leading up to its façade, while the rising ground beyond, on which the Vatican stands, tends somewhat to overtop the cathedral.

As most of my readers are aware, it is the fashion to

compare St Peter's at Rome with St Paul's in London. Both have come in for no small share of criticism, some of it hostile in the extreme, some blindly laudatory. Both are buildings in the same style of architecture, but each building is vast and glorious enough to survive these onslaughts and stand on its own merits, whatever they may be. Too often it is mere fancy opinion or pedantry that override people's good judgment. Mr T. Graham Jackson, one of the most accomplished architects of the day, speaks on this subject in his *Modern Gothic Architecture* as follows :

"Nothing in the region of art is more surprising than the very common incapacity of ordinary men, even of those who are, to a certain extent, acquainted with the principles of art, to form an accurate estimate of the value of an architectural design, or, indeed, to tell a good building from a bad one. Many men who can form a sound judgment on the merits of a picture will show at once that they are hopelessly at sea when called upon to criticize an architectural work. If they prefer one design to another they are utterly unable to state any rule by which they have arrived at their decision ; they judge on purely arbitrary grounds, and pronounce a building good or bad according as it hits their fancy or not and seems to them what they consider pretty or ugly.* And yet there are rules : architecture, equally with the other arts, must be judged by the standard of nature ; it is true that the relation between nature and architecture differs somewhat

* To take a home illustration. A person who admires the stereotyped prettiness of some "pattern district" church in a Tyburnian or a Belgravian square would hardly appreciate the genius and originality of such a church as St Matthias, Stoke Newington, or St Columba's, Kingsland Road.

from that between her and the other arts, and is not at first sight so apparent. Nature never buttressed a wall nor turned an arch—it is not at first sight intelligible how she can supply a standard for architectural criticism. It is, in fact, not with the direct imitation of natural form that architecture is concerned, from which it is by nature precluded, but with the observance of natural law. The architect must obey nature's laws of equilibrium and cohesion, or she levels his building with the ground; he must consider the conditions of climate and other circumstances which she has imposed, or she makes his building uninhabitable."

The whole matter is summed up in the last few words. "The building will be a good one, and fulfil the primary laws of architecture, not because it is what we commonly call 'Gothic,' or 'Classic,' but because it is in accordance with the laws of nature, and the design is regulated by the material with which it is constructed, the uses to which it is to be put; in short, because it fulfils the conditions of climate and other circumstances imposed."

The foregoing quotation is from a very able lecture delivered a good many years ago before an ecclesiological society by Mr G. Somers Clarke * on "St Peter's and St Paul's," and expresses so exactly what I intended to say in comparing these two typical buildings of the Italian Renaissance that I make no apology for quoting his remarks anent the merits and demerits of their respective façades.

"Those who are learned in architectural grammar find

* Mr Somers Clarke has long been intimately connected with St Paul's, and for some years filled the office of Surveyor to the Fabric. He is therefore fully qualified to speak on the subject.

that the west front of St Paul's is full of blunders, details badly applied and quite contrary to rule. The portico is said to be deficient in projection; two orders of architecture, *i.e.*, two sets of pillars, one above the other; the doubling of the columns and their width apart; all these, and doubtless many more bad things, may be said against the west front, and yet we all gaze with awe and admiration on the vast and glorious pile, and feel that it is but scant praise when we hear it called 'the most pleasing design of its class that has yet been executed.' We will turn to the great front of St Peter's. Here the dimensions are indeed colossal; they throw those of St Paul's Cathedral completely into the shade. The balustrade surmounting the front would, were the buildings placed side by side, rise far up to the two western towers of our own church, whilst its width is nearly double. The grammatical blunders are numerous, but I should suppose not so numerous as in St Paul's. It would be tedious to repeat them. What is the whole effect? It is as huge a failure as the other is a triumphant success. Some little details are pretty, more graceful and refined, perhaps, than any of Wren's work, but poor Carlo Maderno was not only 'out' in his grammar, but was void of ideas, and with every advantage produced the most stupendous piece of mediocrity. We are thus able to compare the works of two men, both shaky in their grammar, the one with ideas, the other signally deficient in them, and we can see that the beauty of St Paul's does not rest in the correct application of the Classic styles, or upon any style at all, but upon outline, massing of parts, contrast between the aspiring form of the western towers and the vast swell of the dome, and the placing of these in just relation to one another. I would

not have you suppose for a moment that grammatical correctness of detail is to be slighted. However good the architectural ideas may be, the whole result will be most pleasing if the detail be correct and refined; not the mere correctness of the purist, but imbued with a true feeling."

The height of the front of St Peter's is extravagantly too great. Architecture is so much an art of the square and the rule that mere uninstructed common sense ought perhaps to have no voice on the subject. But all the world, learned and unlearned, unite in condemning this barbarous front. There is a drawing in the Vatican of the façade as Michael Angelo intended it should be, which closely resembles the portico of the Pantheon. Maderno's frightful attic rises so high that, to a spectator on the ground, placed at the further extremity of the piazza of St Peter's, the auxiliary cupolas are quite lost, and the great cupola itself is scarcely able to appear above its overgrown proportions. All this has arisen from breaking the sacred unity of the master idea, notably the lengthening of the nave consequent upon the adoption of the Latin form of cross, putting aside the inferior architecture of the façade.

Adjoining and disfiguring St Peter's are the wart of the Sacristy on one side and the wen of the Vatican on the other. The Sacristy, however diminutive it seems in juxtaposition with such prodigious masses, is in truth itself a vast pile, built at an enormous expense by Pius VI., who was possessed with a rage for embellishing and perpetuating his name by inscriptions. Over the principal entrance is the following:

"Quod ad Templi Vaticani ornamentum publica vota flagitabant, Pius VI., Pontifex maximus fecit," etc.

The Italian wits seldom lose an opportunity of venting their satire in epigram, and the following distich was soon found written underneath the inscription :

> " Publica ! mentiris ;—Non publica vota fuere,
> Sed tumidi ingenii vota fuere tui."

Pius the VIth's passion for recording his own glory in the constant inscription—"*Munificentia Pii Sextii*"—was, perhaps, more wittily satirized, during a season of scarcity, when the *pagnotta* or little roll of two *baiocchi*, answering to our penny roll—which never varies in price, however its size may be affected by the price of corn—had shrunk to a most lamentable littleness. One morning, one of these Lilliputian loaves was found in the hand of Pasquin's statue, with an appended scroll, in large characters — " MUNIFICENTIA PII SEXTII."

Nothing can be more grand than the approach to St Peter's. Here stands an ancient obelisk, which points up to heaven, tapering away as if it seemed to lose itself in the air. Caligula brought it from " old hushed Egypt " to adorn his baths, and Sixtus V. placed it in front of St Peter's—after it had undergone purification, to cleanse it from the heathen abominations—as one of the four inscriptions on its base informs us.

On each side of it is a fountain which flings up its column of water as if into the clouds, where it seems to pause for a moment, reflecting back the changing colours of the sky, and then falling into its porphyry basin, the thousand hues are lost in one dazzling sheet of foam. Having lingered to contemplate these imposing objects we ascend the steps and pass into the vestibule, in itself a noble and spacious building, extending across the entire

width of the basilica. Standing in the middle, an architectural vista of more than two hundred feet on either hand is opened to the eye; terminated on the right by an equestrian statue of Constantine, and on the left by a similar one of Charlemagne: neither worthy of the splendid position it enjoys. Over the central entrance, and consequently opposite the great door of the basilica, is the celebrated mosaic of the Navicella, representing St Peter walking on the sea sustained by the Saviour. It was executed by Giotto in 1298, assisted by his pupil, Pietro Cavallini, and was placed over the eastern entrance to the quadriporticus of the old basilica. On the destruction of that edifice the mosaic changed places several times, and was at length placed in its present position. It has suffered so much from restorations that, although hallowed by the name of Giotto, but little of his handiwork is left in it. Indeed, Lanzi says of this mosaic that "it has been so much repaired, that it has lost its original design, and seems to be executed by an altogether different artist."

There are three entrances leading into the nave of the basilica, corresponding with those to the vestibule, and the great central one, only opened on State occasions, is furnished with bronze doors, which if not one of the most beautiful works of their kind are certainly the most curious.

Ordered for the ancient St Peter's by Eugenius IV., these doors were the work of Antonio Filarete, who was assisted by Simone Donatello, and the numerous reliefs adorning the two huge valves are in some instances valuable for the sake of their historic subjects, in others strangely exemplifying the intrusion of Pagan and even ludicrous subjects into the Christian sphere. On the principal panels are, in low relief, the Saviour and the Blessed Virgin seated

ROME: WESTERN FRONT OF ST. PETER'S.

ROME: VESTIBULE OF ST. PETER'S.

on thrones, standing figures of St Peter and St Paul, beside the first of whom stands Pope Eugenius, receiving the keys from that apostle; beside the latter is seen a vase of flowers, allusive to the epithet given to him, "Vas Electionis." Below, on a smaller scale, are the martyrdoms of these two apostles, with numerous figures. In the scene of St Peter's crucifixion the mole of Hadrian is introduced, fantastically restored as to the then admitted theory as to what the Castle of St Angelo originally was; besides two pyramids, one being the mausoleum of Caius Cestius, which constitutes so interesting a feature in the Protestant cemetery, the other that supposed tomb of Scipio Africanus, which stood between the castle and St Peter's, and was demolished by Alexander VI. for the object of widening a street. In the scene of St Paul's decapitation is introduced the legend of the appearance of that apostle after death to restore her handkerchief to a pious matron who had given it to him for binding round his eyes to meet the executioner's stroke, and to whom he had promised this proof of his gratitude from the invisible world. Between the panels are represented the coronation of the Emperor Sigismund by Eugenius IV.—that prince is seen kneeling before the Pope at an altar; the arrival of the Emperor Manuel Palæologus at Florence, for the Council that proclaimed the reunion of the churches; the arrival at Rome of the envoys from the Ethiopic Jacobite Church, and their submissive recognition, as they kneel before Eugenius IV., of the papal supremacy. Around the framework, interspersed with graceful foliaged ornament, are various small figures and heads in low relief, some of subjects strangely admitted within sacred walls—laurel-crowned busts of Roman emperors and heathen philo-

sophers, the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, Diana and Actæon, Europa with the bull, Leda with the swan, Ganymede with the eagle, the Rape of Proserpine, etc., besides other purely imaginary and almost grotesque groupings; the artistic character of the whole being scarcely on a par with that of works by any among the more esteemed sculptors of the same period. As to the questionable subjects, perhaps we may accept the æsthetic apology of Corinne in reference to these same portals: "On ne se scandalise point à Rome des images du Paganisme quand les beaux arts les ont consacrées. Les merveilles du génie portent toujours à l'ame une impression religieuse, et nous faisons hommage au culte Chrétien de tous les chefs d'œuvres que les autres cultes ont inspirés."

Some traces of the old heathen superstitions are indeed constantly peeping out from under their Catholic disguises. I believe it was Warburton who said, that to see variety in human nature one must go further than Europe—the tour of which resembles the entertainment given to Pompey. There were many dishes, and a seeming variety, but when he examined them closely he found them all made out of one hog;—nothing but *pork*—differently disguised. I believe the remark might be extended further. Human nature seems alike in all ages and countries. "We cannot so inoculate our old stock but we shall relish of it." If anything could have improved the tree, one would have supposed it must have borne better fruit by being grafted with Christianity; but, in many particulars —at least as far as Italy is concerned—all the change produced has been a mere change of name.

We are now about to enter the church itself. He must be of a singularly insensible temperament who can move

aside the heavy leathern curtains of the entrance without feeling that the sensations of the next few minutes are worth a year of commonplace life. When the visitor has passed into the interior, and so far recovered from the bewildering effect of the treasures of art gathered before him—treasures of which before he could scarcely have conceived, and all enshrined in a building which mocks any comparison with the gorgeous temple of Jerusalem, or those magnificent fanes which the worshippers of the old mythology raised to their fabled deities—as to be able to glance around him, he will be struck with, and, if not forewarned, disappointed at the apparent want of magnitude. This, deemed by some a defect, and by others a merit, is, strictly speaking, neither the one nor the other, but the inevitable result of the style of architecture in which St Peter's is built. "I wish," said the imaginative Beckford, "his Holiness would allow me to erect a little tabernacle within this glorious temple. I should desire no other prospect than the vast arches glowing with golden ornaments, so lofty as to lose all glitter or gaudiness. We would take our evening walks on the field of marble; for is not the pavement vast enough for the extravagance of this appellation? Sometimes, instead of climbing a mountain, we should ascend the cupola and look down on our little encampment below. At night I should wish for a constellation of lamps dispersed about in clusters, and so contrived as to diffuse a mild and equal light. Music should not be wanting; at one time to breathe in the subterranean chapels, at another to echo through the dome."

To recur briefly to the points of dissimilarity between the construction of St Peter's and St Paul's. One of the most striking is the treatment of the vaulting. St Peter's,

like most of the great Italian churches of its age and class, is covered with a boldly-coffered waggon vault which rises immediately from the cornice of the entablature above the pier arches.* In St Paul's, of the main entablature, the cornice only reigns throughout the church. Over this order rises a blind one—corresponding with the triforium of a Gothic church—which breaks with the entablature over each pilaster, and by its break makes an abutment pier for the springing of the semicircular arches, which form the transverse ribs of the main vault. In each severy, or portion from pilaster to pilaster (excepting the westernmost), the length is not equal to the breadth; and this circumstance introduces a complication in the vaulting. The vault is produced by a portion of a sphere, of which the centre is level with the top of the attic, and which is intersected by a true cylinder longitudinally and an elliptic cylinder latitudinally. The former intersection necessarily coincides with the simple semicircular transverse arches, but the latter forms groins of double curvature, which are carved into continuous narrow ribs, or bands, of flowers. The spaces between these groins and the transverse ribs form pendentives for the support of the shallow or "saucer" dome which completes the surface. This dome, however, is really part of the same sphere as the pendentives, but is separated by a bold cornice, and has the appearance of being carried by the transverse ribs and groins already described. The western bay of the nave in St Paul's, whose slightly-increased width constitutes one of the most charming features in our great cathedral, is

* I believe I am right in saying that Sant Audrea at Mantua, one of the finest productions of Alberti, was one of the earliest churches in which this species of vaulting was introduced (c. 1470).

square on the plan, and consequently the regularity of the pendentives is here preserved. Another difference in this grand western bay of the nave of St Paul's is that the pier arches spring from isolated columns coupled with the pilasters attached to the piers. From the north and south aisles, similar bays open into the Morning Prayer Chapel and that of SS. Michael and George (formerly the Consistory), which are both parallelograms on the plan, and are terminated at the eastern ends by apses.

It is only in the bays of the four arms where they adjoin the dome, and in that intermediate between the choir and the apse, that Wren has introduced that waggon-shaped and coffered vault which contrasts so effectively with the rest of the vaulting in St Paul's.

St Peter's, like every work of art, should be judged with reference to its aim and purpose. It is not in the form of a basilica, and we violate an elementary canon of criticism when we apply to it the rules by which the excellence of a basilica is tried.

In this we demand unity and simplicity; but in the style of St Peter's, harmony, variety and proportion are the graces aimed at. There is certainly something very effective in the severe purity of the basilica, as, *e.g.*, Sta Maria Maggiore, San Paolo fuori le Mura, and Sta Agnese in Rome; Sant Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, and the cathedral at Torcello. The first impression satisfies and elevates the mind. The elastic glance leaps, at a bound, from the pavement to the roof, and follows the unbroken line of the perspective without a pause of discontent. Some may regret that a form of ecclesiastical architecture, so hallowed by the traditions of the Church, was not adopted in this most stupendous of Christian temples.

But, besides that the magnitude of the building, and the immense weight of the superincumbent mass, required the support of piers and arches, it would have been impossible to procure the requisite number of monolith columns for a basilica of the same size as the present St Peter's. The majestic porticos and temples of antiquity had been plundered of their pillars of marble and granite to decorate earlier churches ; and there were no more left for either rapacity or devotion to seize upon. Nor could the crowning glory of the dome have combined with such a plan. Thus in entering St Peter's we must leave behind us the prepossessions derived either from one of the great Gothic cathedrals of the North or a Ravennese basilica. In a Gothic cathedral, for instance, the statues are of the size of life, because, by the natural standard they furnish to the eye, the apparent height of the roof and the shafts is enhanced ; but in St Peter's the statues are all on a colossal scale. The cherubs which support the holy water stoups at the entrance to the basilica are of seemingly infantile proportions, but they are really upwards of six feet high. Not only is harmony of proportion an essential attribute of a building like St Peter's, but its immense size makes it unnecessary to enlarge its apparent dimensions.

It is true that, so far as the first impression is concerned, which is so important in architecture, a building like Cologne Cathedral or the great basilicas of Sta Maria Maggiore and San Paolo at Rome have the advantage of St Peter's. But in the former successive visits do little more than renew and deepen the first image ; in St Peter's the visible objects seem to grow and expand as we gaze. It is a mighty volume, in which every day we read a new page. The eye becomes the pupil of the mind ; and the

proportioned bulk and harmonious grandeur unfold themselves by gradual and successive steps. A medival cathedral breaks upon us with the sudden splendour of a meteor; but St Peter's gains upon the mind by gradations like those which mark the approach of day in temperate latitudes.

The point on which I wish especially to insist at St Peter's is one which concerns its interior. Everyone who enters the building for the first time experiences a feeling of disappointment that it does not look as large as he expected to find it or as it really is. Everybody, learned or unlearned, makes the same remark. Now the regulation answer is that it is the perfection of its proportions which make the church look small. Such answer is nonsense. Proportions which detract from the apparent size, and, therefore, from the dignity of a building, are in their own nature disproportions. It is certainly hard on entering St Peter's to believe that we are in a church which is longer than St Albans and higher than Amiens. The reason is that the architects of those two grand cathedrals knew what to do with their length and height, while the architects of St Peter's did not know what to do with theirs.

It is all the difference between the *magnifying* and the *multiplying* principle. At St Peter's four arches of enormous height and enormous span occupy a length which in an ancient basilica would have been occupied by twenty arches. The necessary result is that, while an ancient basilica or a mediæval church does justice to its own length, St Peter's looks a great deal shorter than it really is. At St Peter's there are no lofty pillars formed of groups of shafts, only enormous piers. There is nothing to carry the eye vertically, there is nothing to carry it horizontally.

Nor is there anything for the eye to rest on as the expression of mere repose, as in the Norman and German Romanesque. The colossal statues again help to take off from the effect of size. So does the huge baldachino of the high altar—great pains have been taken to give a really vast church an appearance of far less size than it really has. The detail of the building is used to emphasize all defects and in no way to assist the sublime conception of the vast dome of 140 feet span, and its mighty supporting arches of 80 feet span. To a great extent we must, I suppose, thank Michael Angelo for this.

Mediæval optical refinements did not wholly or suddenly disappear with the Renaissance of the Classical. The horizontal curves are found in the parapets of the Certosa at Pavia, which is Early Renaissance. The vertical curves appear in the Teatro Olympico and in San Stefano at Vicenza in a similar form to that which we find in the Gothic Cathedral of Vicenza. It is well known that perspective illusions were practised by Bernini in the Scala Regia of the Vatican, and by Borromini in the Palazzo Spada. In fact, up to date such illusions have been only recognized as occurring in the Late Renaissance. The nave of St Peter's narrows in 9 feet 4 inches between the entrance and the transept. This is quite possibly due to some special cause connected with the lengthening of the nave by Carlo Maderno, but it is not wholly impossible that an optical trick of the Bernini style is in question here. There is no doubt that a very considerable increase in perspective is obtained by this narrowing in of the nave at the third pier, and there is no doubt that this element of effect in increase of magnitude is universally overlooked. The deflected ground plans of the Middle Ages are also parallel in St

Peter's, whose nave axis is deflected about a foot from that of the tribune. Might there not have been Masonic secrets which the Freemasons have neglected since they ceased to be masons ? Or was it the secrecy of some of the Masonic Guilds which preceded and developed into the modern secret society of the Freemasons ?

Internally, St Peter's is not alone grand, beautiful and vast—it is absolutely sublime. The wonderful boldness of the design, the gigantic scale, the majestic proportions, the unbounded costliness, the perfect reparation of the fabric, and the truly religious air that reigns in the vast stillness of the interior, combine to awe and elevate the soul. Were it not for the general harmony of style and just proportion, it would seem not a single gigantic structure, but a mass of congregated and consecrated buildings, all constituting a vast accumulation of the splendours of art and the wonders of architecture—the piled offerings of the pride and piety of many ages and nations, the mighty type and temple of a world's worship, towering towards God.

After pacing the nave it is really a great and memorable thing to stand under the grand dome and look up, up, to the far shining of the glory and mystery of the Godhead pictured in the finest mosaic. The splendour of those wondrous mosaics, and all the elaborate, yet marvellously subdued beauty of the encrusting marbles and other ornaments, seem to strike down upon you and dazzle you like the sun at noonday. The mediæval architects of the north-west of Europe did not have the richly-coloured materials at their command, but they were far from giving up on that account the use of colour.

The very fact of the fairly complete preservation in which the great cathedrals have come down to us, so far

as their general form is concerned, makes especially difficult to us the realization of what their appearance must have been when they still had all their colour-decoration. But enough traces of colour are still clearly visible to show their original condition with tolerable certainty. In a general view these venerable buildings seem to have no colour but the natural grey of the weather-beaten stone, no more variety of tint than can be found in some old stone cliff of which their walls so much remind us, stained and worn as they are by time and with weeds and brambles growing in their crannies. But if we carefully scrutinize the hollows and protected portions of the carvings, especially in the porches, we shall almost certainly find unmistakable remains of applied pigment. Especially is this the case, for instance—or was before the restoration—in the porches of the Cathedral of Amiens, where the pigment used on the mouldings of carved roses, and of the hawthorn in its natural colours, could still be plainly seen in places. A very interesting and complete example of colour applied to interior architecture is to be found in the rich Late Romanesque porch, now walled up, on the north side of Rheims Cathedral. It is clear that one should picture to himself the completed cathedral of Mediæval France as richly decorated with colour inside, besides the stained-glass windows; the colour overflowing, as it were, and covering the porches, which were probably one mass of rich polychromatic ornament. Colour was, it seems likely also, more sparingly employed in other portions of the exteriors.

The interiors of the cathedrals of Italy at this time were also fully decorated by applied colour; for mosaic, which had been introduced from Byzantium, fell more and more

into disuse as fresco-painting developed. But in the exteriors, in connection with those coloured marbles in which Italy is so supremely rich, and which were principally relied on for colour, mosaic continued to be used as in the gorgeous fronts of the cathedrals of Siena and Orvieto and the early severe front of San Frediano at Lucca. With the coming of the Renaissance mosaic becomes still more unusual. But coloured marbles were never used with more delicate and consummate taste, or with more beautiful effect, than they were by the architects of the Renaissance, both in its earlier and later phases; and there are few classes of buildings so fruitful of lessons in the right principles of the application of colour to buildings, more especially their interiors, for with the further advance of the Renaissance colour gradually disappeared from their exteriors.

Under the dome of St Peter's, with the tribune before us and the apsidal transept on either hand, we are face to face with the sublime genius of Michael Angelo. These are his conceptions, carried out by his successors in a spirit of becoming reverence. His mind was never in its element unless when grappling with majestic designs and moving in wide spaces. As men like Cromwell and Bonaparte are turbulent and impatient when in an inferior sphere, but tranquil when they have risen to power, so the crowded and restless energies of Michael Angelo, which chafed and fretted in the narrow precinct of a single statue or an oil picture, found repose in such gigantic tasks as the dome of St Peter's and the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel.

The arts of painting and sculpture can offer no parallel to the dome of St Peter's. Their range, so far as the sublime

is concerned, is necessarily limited, and beyond that limit they degenerate into the monstrous or the grotesque.

Michael Angelo has been often compared to Dante, whose works he is known to have studied and admired; but Dante's is not the name which the dome of St Peter's first suggests. He is sublime, but that is not his greatest power. His leading characteristics are picturesqueness and intensity. The genius of Milton presents the most obvious parallel to that which reared this majestic dome. The first book of *Paradise Lost* is in poetry what that is in architecture. Both are marked by the same imaginative sublimity and creative power. Both raise the mind to the same exalted heights, and both by the same means.

"There is but one painting in St Peter's; see if you can find it," was the remark to me shortly before I paid my first visit to Rome. As I looked round these words recurred to me, and I wondered what they could have meant. There was an immense picture over every altar and in every chapel, and I recognized copies of the noblest masterpieces on sacred subjects. It was not until I had been there a considerable time that I discovered, with one exception, they were mosaics, the colours and lights and shades being all so admirably imitated that they rival the choicest works of the pencil. And probably, centuries after the hues on the canvas have faded, these brilliant copies will preserve to the world a true record of the artist's genius. Time has already wrought its changes in the Transfiguration of Raffaele, yet here is a duplicate in the unchanging stone, which even now begins to convey a truer idea of that great painter's conception than the much-cherished original in the Vatican.*

* It is deeply to be regretted that among them we have not the Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci.

"How long will that picture last?" Napoleon once asked as he was looking at a beautiful painting. "Perhaps five hundred years," was the answer. "And such," said the emperor, with a smile of scorn, "is a painter's immortality!" The builders of this magnificent pile seem to have shared these feelings, and to have determined that nothing should be here which in the lapse of time might perish.

St Peter's is a world of art; but the specimens, with a few exceptions, are by no means of the first class. The period at which the building was so far completed as to admit of interior decorations was the Alexandrian age of art. Bernini was to Michael Angelo what Lycophron was to Homer.

The monuments to deceased popes erected here are all of them costly, and many magnificent. Some separate figures and portions of them are of great excellence, but few soar to the dignity, simplicity and feeling of high monumental art. Most of them are framed upon a uniform model. They are pyramidal in their general outline; the statue of the deceased pontiff, kneeling, sitting, or standing, being the central and crowning figure. Below is a sarcophagus, ornamented with bas-reliefs, flanked or supported by statues, in which all the resources of allegory are exhausted. Prudence, Justice, Charity and Religion lean, sprawl or recline; and all endeavour, with more or less of ill success, to do what marble can never do.

The finest of these monuments is that erected by Canova to Clement XIII. at the end of the right transept. The Pope is represented in an attitude of prayer: a figure full of expression. He kneels upon a cushion, and his tiara is on a space before him.

Below, on the left, is the figure of Religion, a female holding a cross taller than herself. This statue, though admirably executed, is not of the highest merit. The general character of the form is too sturdy and masculine, and the attitude too rigid. The golden rays which encircle the head are a most unfortunate embellishment. In passing suddenly from the flowing outlines of the figure to a circle of radiating spikes the eye experiences a painful shock; nor does the material harmonize with the purity of the marble. On the left is the genius of Death, sitting with his torch reversed; the countenance and attitude beautifully expressive of the gentleness of grief. This is an admirable work of art; not exhibiting any very great originality of design, but such a statue as would have been admired in Greece in the best days of Grecian art. The delicate symmetry of the limbs, the grace of the position, and the air of soft melancholy with which the whole figure is invested, are stamped with the impress of Canova's genius in its best days, before he had fallen into the prettiness and affectation observable in some of his later works.

The lower part of the monument represents the door of a chapel. This is guarded by two lions: that on the left is represented as waking, and that on the right as sleeping. The latter is an incomparable creature—as noble a combination of strength and repose as art has ever created—a work to be praised only by superlatives, and without qualification. It seems strange that in looking at it Canova did not do more in the same style; why an artist so capable of representing the sublime should have dwelt so habitually within the limits of the beautiful. Is it because the animal sublime, if such an expression may be allowed,

differs from the human sublime in kind as well as degree : the former being the result of material form, the latter of intellectual expression ?

Admirable as these lions are, one is tempted to question their appropriateness as embellishments to the monument of a peaceful ecclesiastic. We inquire their meaning and what ideas they represent. Pistolesi, in his great work upon the Vatican of St Peter's, tells us that they typify the firmness of mind (" la fortezza dell' anima ") which distinguished Clement XIII. ; while, according to another writer, they express grief in its different aspects of rebellion and submission.

The great name of Thorwaldsen will naturally attract attention to the monument of Pius VII., but it is hardly worthy the genius of this illustrious artist. The figures are good, but, as a whole, the design is formal and rectangular, and leaves an impression on the mind that the sculptor had not put his heart into his work.

In the monument to Urban VIII. in the central apse, or tribune, Bernini is seen at his best. The effigy of the pontiff is in bronze, and full of expression ; and the figures of Prudence and Justice, which are in marble, are fine specimens of cleverness and skill. They are not beautiful, still less sublime. They are deficient in repose and dignity, but they are full of animation and spirit. They are somewhat exaggerated and redundant in their forms, like the pictures of Rubens ; but they have the same vital energy.

In the same tribune—as if to give us the extreme points to which the genius of Bernini could rise and fall—is the most glaring offence against good taste in the whole of this sublime temple ; a fabric of bronze, in which is enclosed

the identical chair in which St Peter and his immediate successors officiated; that is, we are told to believe so. It is surmounted by a canopy, and supported by four colossal gilt figures of St Augustine, St Ambrose, St Chrysostom and St Athanasius; but, in their attitude and position, they resemble dancing-masters rather than saints and theologians. Above there is a pictorial representation of the Holy Ghost, a confused *mélange* of clouds, gilding, rays and cherubs; the whole design from top to bottom being open to the gravest censure. What a fall does all this show in that people who produced those glorious mosaics in the pendentives and roof of the dome which still excite our admiration as much from the simple majesty of the accessories as from the imposing grandeur of the mass!

Somewhere about 1830 Lady Morgan gave to the world another story of the wonderful relic enshrined within this masterpiece of absurdity. She stated that when the French held Rome their sacrilegious curiosity induced them to break through the splendid casket for the purpose of seeing the sacred chair. Upon its mouldering and dusty surface were traced carvings which bore the appearance of letters. The chair was quickly brought into a better light, the dust and cobwebs removed, and the inscription faithfully copied. The writing was in Arabic characters, and set forth the well-known confession of the Mahometan faith—"There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet."

The story was afterwards hushed up, the chair replaced, and none but the unhallowed remember the fact, and none but the audacious repeat it. However, Dr Wiseman took *miladi* to task with great severity, and asserted that it was an ancient curule chair, evidently of Roman workmanship,

and might therefore reasonably be supposed to have been used as an Episcopal throne when St Peter was received into the house of the Senator Pudens at Rome. The truth probably is that it was brought from the East among the spoils of the Crusaders—presented to St Peter's at a time when antiquarian research was not much in fashion—and now its origin has been forgotten.

To those who speak the English tongue the most interesting of the monuments in St Peter's is that erected by Canova to the last three of the Stuart family—James the Third, Charles the Third, and Henry the Ninth, as they are designated in the inscription. It is a marble structure, in form resembling an obelisk, and is located towards the (ecclesiologically) west end of the north aisle.

The lower part represents the door of a mausoleum, guarded on either side by winged figures identical in design. The whole monument seems feeble and commonplace, but its interest is independent of its merits as a work of art. In the crypt below repose the last of a memorable race—a family remarkable not for great virtues or great capacity, but for great misfortunes. Misfortunes have their dignity and their redeeming power.

"Sunt lacrymæ rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt."

No family ever underwent a more righteous retribution, or more distinctly sowed the harvest of sorrow which they reaped. But here is the end of a great historical chapter: nothing now remains but compassion. Over the dust which here reposes neither puritan nor republican would cherish the remembrance of crimes committed or wrongs endured.

The whole internal area of St Peter's is entirely open,

without any kind of screen or fence, except that the stairs leading down to the confessionary are balustraded round and the high altar is protected from too close approach. There is absolutely no true *chorus cantorum* at all; the great arm of the cross behind the altar having no fittings. In fact the high altar is but very rarely used, and by the Pope only, or a cardinal, when authorized by a special Apostolic brief: and the altar, at the extreme end of the apse, *under* the papal throne alluded to above, is only occasionally employed. The ordinary services are sung in the "Capella del Coro," or "Chapel of the Choir," an immense oblong apartment opposite the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, and approached from the left aisle of the nave. There are a number of altars all round the church, and when any one is used (on occasion, for example, of the festival of the saint in whose honour any one may be dedicated) a temporary choir is formed before it, made by placing longitudinal benches as in a choir; and one of the great movable organs of the church is wheeled to the spot and serves as well for a gallery of singers and the orchestra. There are two fixed organs in the Capella del Coro, in a gallery at either end of the chapel, in front of which the singers are placed (in surplices, I was glad to observe), the area being reserved exclusively for the ceremonial of the services, which are performed twice daily with much grandeur and solemnity, but without that constant magnificent exhibition of ritual, such as is afforded by the cathedrals of Florence and Milan.

I was, of course, often in St Peter's, generally timing my visits so as to be able to "assist" at the daily capitular offices in this chapel; for when there was nothing else in Rome immediately to occupy my attention I could repair

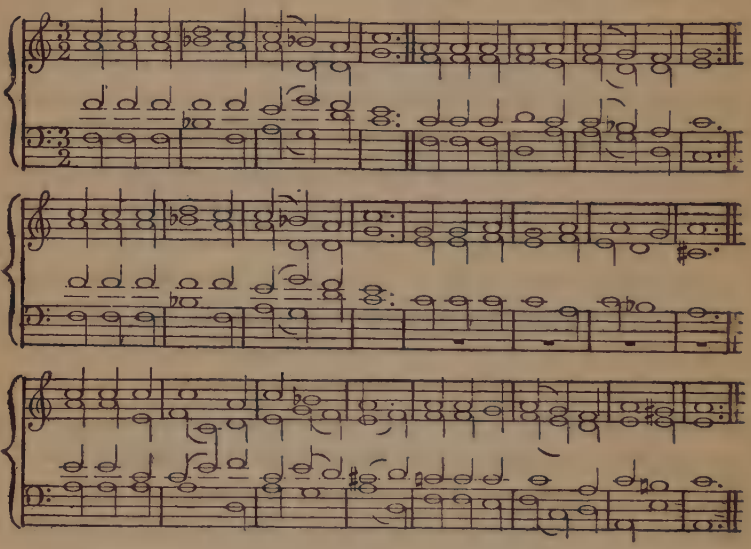
to this mighty temple and find a subject for study which is inexhaustible.

To an English Churchman visiting Rome for the first time, the ecclesiastical music, judged by the best Anglican standards, is something for disappointment. To be rightly appreciated, however, Italian church-music must be referred to its own standard : Italian voices are deeper in tone and richer in quality, if less refined, than English, while the style of singing is such as we are accustomed to associate with Italian opera, and abounds in exaggerated expression. On the other hand, there is a marked tendency at the present day to discard the over-florid compositions of the last two centuries and a half in favour of the staid gravity of the Ancient Plain-Song, or of Palestrina and his contemporaries.

I was fortunate at St Peter's, for on one Sunday of my sojourn in Rome the Gospel Canticles at the afternoon offices were sung to the First Gregorian Tone, with original settings to the alternate verses by Viadana ; while on another occasion I had the rare treat of hearing that Magnificat, founded by Palestrina on the Third Tone, in the *Gloria Patri* of which occurs the passage here subjoined, and which is familiar to some of my musical readers from its adaptation to the "*Veni Creator Spiritus.*"

In his *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms* (T. Werner Laurie, 1910) Mr John S. Bumpus informs us that this arrangement for the *Veni Creator* from the Magnificat *Tertii Toni* was made by Thomas Ingram, organist of All Souls', Langham Place, and an active member of the Motett Society. It was first printed in *Select Anthems for Church Choirs*, edited by Ingram, and published by George Bell, 186 Fleet Street, 1850. About the same time

it appeared in a collection of metrical psalmody, given as one of the musical supplements to *The Parish Choir*. This adaptation was first sung at the Consecration of Dr Fulford, as Bishop of Montreal, in Westminster Abbey, St James's Day, 25th July 1850. There is a garbled version set to the Easter Hymn, "The strife is o'er," in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. Palestrina's own setting of the *Veni Creator* for



four voices will be found in the eighth volume of Breitkopf and Härtel's edition of his complete works.

At St Peter's the papal choir maintains its old reputation, though it is heard to greater advantage under the dome than in the Capella del Coro, and the same may be said of the music at the Lateran basilica, where the "chapel of the choir," to the left of the tribune, is infinitely smaller than that of the Vatican.

English Church musicians may well learn one important lesson here—the absolute sufficiency of small organs for divine service, and the mistake of supposing, as too many of our modern organists do, that a large instrument is indispensable for a really high-class musical service. As for the Plain-Song in other great churches in Rome, the less said about it the better. It is easy to understand the determination of the late and the present Pope to effect a sweeping reformation in the ecclesiastical music of Italy. There are two churches in Rome, however, where the Church's ancient chant is heard to perfection. One of these is the chapel of the German college, whose students are so well known in the streets of the city by their all-scarlet uniform. This choir, numbering about thirty, sings with Teutonic lustiness, but the young voices are clear and true, and the efficiency of their training is no less evident than the reverent solemnity which makes their rendering of divine service so edifying and impressive.* The chief home of Plain-Song in the Eternal City is the new Benedictine Church of Sant Anselmo, finely situated on the Aventine, of which the Abbé Gasquet is the head. To hear this great choir of nearly a hundred men of various nationalities, nearly all of them young, chant divine service is a revelation of the possibilities of ancient music. Every word, every syllable, is clearly and accurately pronounced, and the voices are so well together that for a hearer to pull up a lost place in the Psalter is quite easy. Such excellence is most inspiring, seeing that the director of the choir is none other than the venerable Dom Pothier, formerly of the celebrated school of

* Those who have not travelled so far as Rome may have had an example of this in the mode of chanting at Ratisbon Cathedral.

plain-chant at Solesmes, and honoured as the pioneer of the revival of true continental Plain-Song, and recognized as the greatest authority on the subject. It is remarkable that neither of these Plain-Song choirs has the advantage of any other accompaniment than that of a harmonium, though the Benedictines are promised an organ.

In a brief sketch like this it is impossible to enter into all the minutiæ of architectural detail, or to describe in guide-book form the wonders of art in sculpture, painting and mosaic contained within St Peter's. Either of these subjects, indeed, would fill a volume. I have said there are faults detected within the church as well as without, but absolute perfection is not a faculty in man, and besides, this edifice was not, like our St Paul's, the work of one great genius but of several architects in succession—some of whom had not the judgment and good taste of Bramante and Michael Angelo, and all of whom widely departed from the plans they had laid down for building the whole of the church. As it is, however, a visit to St Peter's is an exquisite pleasure, and one calculated to elevate the soul of man. It is a spectacle, too, that never tires—you may visit it every day and always find something new to engage the attention. This will be easily conceived if the reader only reflects on the fact that for several ages, and through a long succession of popes, the fine arts have never ceased adding new riches to the temple in mosaic, in marble, or in bronze.

The temperature of the air within its vast enclosure is delightfully mild and genial—it is cool in summer and comfortably warm in winter—it is, in fact, almost invariable. Nothing can well be more delightful than to escape on a hot summer's day from the streets of Rome and the

glaring light and oppressive heat, and to seek refuge in the cool atmosphere of St Peter's. The winter at Rome, too, is sometimes sufficiently severe to enhance the value of its genial temperature at that season.

A similar advantage is enjoyed in most of the great churches of Southern Europe, but in none to such a degree as in St Peter's, where a perpetual spring may be said to reign. Nor is this produced by any actively artificial means; there are no fires or other modes of warming in winter, and there are no peculiar processes for ventilating or otherwise cooling in summer. It arises solely from the enormous thickness and solidity of the walls throughout; from the comparatively few and small apertures communicating with the external atmosphere, and from the immense bulk of the air enclosed within the basilica, that neither parts with nor receives heat in sufficient quantity to effect in any perceptible degree the equability of its temperature.

I have alluded elsewhere in these pages to the paucity of monuments of the fourteenth century in Rome.

In the depressed condition of the city during the Avignon succession we see negative proof how absolutely she was dependent on the ecclesiastical sovereignty for her grandeur and prosperity, her rank in the world's drama, and all that invested her with potent attraction in mediæval times. The population, said to have been 35,000 at the end of the twelfth century, sunk to 17,000. The laxity of discipline and influx of abuses had reached, perhaps, the extreme point beyond which it was impossible to go further, and the papal metropolis, no longer even entitled to that name, had fallen into a state of moral as well as of material ruin. "The inheritance of St Peter," says the

Cardinal Orsini, "had become the prey of men who were rather robbers than rulers; Italy, overrun by revolt and tumult, had declined so deeply as scarcely to pertain any more to the body of the Church; scarce any important post or any benefice that was not purchasable for money or given away out of regard for worldly interests."

The picture drawn by a contemporary of the violence and licence prevailing in Rome at the time Cola di Rienzi raised himself to brief authority is indeed most dark and scandalous; no protection from law for the defenceless, their lives or property; no security for the honour of females or the sanctities of domestic life. Whilst a royal saint, Bridget of Sweden, was residing here with her daughter, a young and beautiful widow (who joined her mother, already settled at Rome, about 1350), the importunities and dangers to which the latter was exposed were such as to induce her to resolve never to quit her home except for frequenting the nearest churches, and it happened one day that, whilst making a devotional visit to the catacombs of San Sebastiano, she was seized by the soldiers of a young count who desired thus to force her into marriage, but fortunately, through aid from persons who chanced to pass that way in a vehicle at that moment, she found refuge at a house on the Appian Way, and thus escaped from her pursuer.

Certain ecclesiastical statistics, supplied from a code in the University Library at Turin, show how general was the neglect of their duties by the clergy, how desolate the conditions of sacred buildings at this time. Rome in the fourteenth century numbered 424 churches, 252 being parochial, these latter being served by not more than two,

or but one priest to each ; forty-four left in more or less neglect without any priests attached to them, and eleven absolutely in ruin, besides many others deprived of roofs, with dilapidated walls, and destitute of all things requisite for divine worship.*

The churches belonging to monks and friars were 28 ; those of nuns, 18 ; those ranking as papal basilicas, 11 ; the number of secular clergy was 785 ; that of regulars, 317, among whom were 126 monks of the ancient orders ; the nuns numbering 471 ; the regular clerics devoted to the care of the sick and styled hospitallers, 97—the same report adding that the number of prisoners then in the civic jails was 260.

Our study of the fourteenth century monuments in Rome might begin at a site of venerable associations—that portion of the ancient St Peter's reduced to a crypt under the modern church, where are now seen the most interesting art works, namely almost all those anterior to the sixteenth century, which the Vatican basilica still contains. For the festival of St Peter and St Paul these subterraneans are open to the public and lighted just sufficiently to allow of exploring in independence of custodi and sacristans. No scene is better suited for meditation on the wonderful events and bearings of papal history, on the great and saintly characters of so many, the deplorable unworthiness of others who have worn the triple tiara. Here we are reminded of the culminating point in the power and glory attained by these crowned priests ; and before the tomb of one in particular—Boniface VIII.—we are led to reflect on the shocks whence

* "Deficiunt tota die propter malitiam servientium—quarum reparationi infinitus thesaurus non sufficeret."

dates a phase of decline even in the story of the same Pope who had stood in the loftiest height before he, and the Papacy with him, began to experience adverse influences.

We may regret to find the English Hadrian IV.* without even the honour of a Christian tomb, but laid in a pagan sarcophagus of red granite with bull's heads rudely sculptured upon it, without a word of inscription or detail of symbolism allusive to the career of the poor student from St Albans who ascended the highest throne upon earth, after enduring poverty, repulses and neglect. In our explorations here we may be surprised at the absence among papal monuments in Rome's great cathedral of memorials to such pontiffs as Gregory VII. and Innocent III. On the tomb of Boniface VIII. is the recumbent figure ascribed to Arnolfo del Cambio, representing that Pope crowned with the tiara of two diadems (the second added by himself), a sculpture of no great merit; but the most interesting circumstance connected with it is the state in which the contents of the tomb were found, when it was opened, as necessary before removing it from its original place in the ancient church, in 1605. The body of the energetic, much-tried Pope Boniface was then seen with its vestments and ornaments alike preserved from decay; and on the border of the cope was found a precious illustration of the Gospel history divided into thirty subjects, all in needlework; then too was contradicted, by ocular proof, the calumnious report of some historians respecting the death of this pontiff—his having in frenzy dashed his head against the wall, and gnawed both his staff and his hands just before the last paroxysm—the

* Nicholas Brakespeare.

remains, when thus exposed, bearing no trace of bodily injury either to the bald head or the hands, which were remarkable for their fine form as well as perfect preservation.

A bas-relief of the Virgin and Child, by the same Arnolfo, once stood over this tomb, but is now over an altar at the extremity of one of the subterranean corridors. Another half-length statue of the same pontiff, robed and crowned, and in the act of blessing, with the keys in one hand, attributed to Andrea Pisano, has a certain life-like character; and a half-length of Benedict XII., by Paolo di Siena, is similarly treated, but inferior, heavy and lifeless.

Among sculptured tombs of the fourteenth century that are noticeable for artistic qualities is that of Urban VI., with recumbent figure and drapery well treated, a relief in front representing the same Pope kneeling to receive the keys from St Peter; also that of Maffiolus, a Polish bishop (d. 1396). On a throne with rich Gothic ornamentation, where was formerly placed the figure of Benedict XII., we now see a seated figure of St Peter, ascribed to Paolo di Siena, supported laterally by another apostle and an angel. Elsewhere are seen in this crypt many remnants of altars, sculptures, many tombs of later age, and several epigraphs of high antiquity.

The primitive church is represented by the interesting sculptured sarcophagus of the Prefect Junius Bassus, who died (a neophyte) A.D. 359; the mediæval, by the mosaics from the chapel of John VII., ordered by that Pope early in the eighth century, as well as by those from the tomb of Otto II.; by the transcript on marble from the famous donation of Matilda, and in artistic forms by the papal tombs above mentioned; the epoch of later Italian art by

the sculptures from the monuments of Nicholas V. and Paul II., and from the magnificent ciborium (or altar canopy) of Sixtus IV.; and the hand of Giotto is believed to be recognizable in a beautiful mosaic of an angel, said to be from his design—though such art-tradition may be questioned. The labours of that great artist in Rome are now, unfortunately, represented by but few extant works from among those he executed here—though the popes did not fail to recognize and encourage his genius. Boniface VIII. invited him to this city for the adorning of the tribune and sacristy of St Peter's with several paintings; and in one of the halls of the spacious buildings of the modern Vatican sacristy are preserved some remains of that series, for the most part perished—a picture of Christ enthroned, giving benediction, with the kneeling figure of Cardinal Stefeneschi (by whom this is said to have been ordered in 1300 to adorn the ciborium of the high altar), also the martyrdoms of St Peter and St Paul; and, on the back of the same panel with the picture of the Saviour, another in which the same cardinal is offering his ciborium to St Peter.

For his works in the ancient church and sacristy Giotto received 600 gold ducats. The great Navicella, or St Peter walking on the sea to meet his Divine Master, who sustains him from sinking, from Giotto's design, executed, with the assistance of his pupil Cavallini, in 1298, now over the ancient entrance to the atrium of the great basilica, is beyond comparison the noblest specimen of the artist's powers to be seen in Rome.* No other undoubted original

* On the destruction of the old basilica this mosaic changed places several times, and was at length fixed in its present position. It has, however, suffered much from restorations.

by the same hand is preserved in any church in Rome, except the few above described. There is, however, a Crucifixion that may be favourably reported of, but can by no means be satisfactorily seen in a small dim-lit chapel, with details of Gothic architecture, at Sta Maria Sopra Minerva, the principal church of the Dominicans.

In the sculpture of the fifteenth century—especially in that still preserved at Rome—we recognize a certain emancipation from the exclusive dominion of the traditionary and the theological; instead of the prescribed figures of apostles and saints are introduced (often, indeed, together with those more familiar subjects) allegorical personages, the cardinal and theological virtues, usually as statuettes in arched niches on the surface of pilasters; on the central panel some sacred group in relief, usually the Blessed Virgin and Child, attended by angels or apostles, or by some patron saint who presents the kneeling figure of the deceased, or donor, to the Madonna. In the allegoric subjects the treatment of symbolism has, sometimes, little or no accordance with Christian ideas, as in the admired bronze monument of Sixtus IV. at St Peter's, where figures of virtues and sciences surround a framework in low relief, that seem hardly admissible into the sacred place. On monuments the deceased is still, as formerly, represented in a recumbent portrait statue, where neither absolute death nor sleep but an ideal repose, mediate between these two states, is apparent, and often very affectingly treated; on the sarcophagus below, and on the pilasters, or other surfaces at the sides, are introduced ornamental reliefs, trophies, garlands, symbols, in which the Pagan is sometimes blended with the Christian, and we are reminded of the joyous rites of Bacchus, rather than

of the trials and hope of the believer. The rich, graceful canopies and mouldings of the Gothic tabernacle, the pendent curtains drawn aside by angels to display the figure laid on the tomb—such as we see in the monuments of Adrian V. and Clement IV. at Viterbo, and of Benedict XI. at Perugia—give place to elaborate architectonic structures in white marble, like Classic œdiculæ, with pilasters, friezes, horizontal pediments or triangular tympana. More purely Classic is a new form of sculptured altar-piece, with statuettes in niches, ornamental reliefs, friezes, and in some instances the half figure of the Supreme Being with a globe in one hand, and giving benediction, on the tympanum.

In statuary of the fifteenth century Rome possesses few works comparable with the productions of the great Tuscan masters of that era, save such specimens of those artists' powers as, in rare instances, found their way hither—for instance, a modern statue of St John the Baptist by Donatello in the sacristy of San Giovanni Laterano, a bronze from which stands in a side chapel entered from the baptistery of that basilica; also the tomb of Sixtus IV., above alluded to, by Antonio Pollajuolo, and another bronze monument in St Peter's, that of Innocent VIII., singularly designed with two portrait statues, one seated on a throne at the highest part, and the other laid on a sarcophagus below, a work by the brothers Pietro and Antonio Pollajuolo.

Finer than the last named is the former, Pope Sixtus's monument, however we may take exception to the scarce delicate treatment of its allegoric figures; the recumbent statue of the Pope being indeed nobly dignified, and the isolation of this tomb, like a splendid funeral couch, on the

pavement of the chapel of the Holy Sacrament, enhances its impressive effect. It contains not only the body of Sixtus, but that of his nephew and successor, who raised this stately memorial, Julius II., and those of two cardinals, Della Rovere (of the same house), and Santorio.

The colossal figures of St Peter and St Paul, by Mino del Regno (a little known artist), erected by Pius II., before St Peter's, where they stood till removed by Pius IX. to the corridor of the sacristy of that basilica, are scarcely worthy of either their former or their present place. Both for monuments and altar-pieces the crypt of the Vatican basilica is the pre-eminent treasury and centre of sacred sculpture in Rome, more abundantly supplied, indeed, with works of the fifteenth than of any other century; but whilst it is satisfactory to record the consignment of so many art relics from the ancient church to the subterraneans below the actual building because their preservation has been secured, it is regrettable to see them scattered as they now are, forming indeed mere *disjecta membra*—and arranged with little or no regard to the integrity of original compositions—here a statue from an altar without its companions, there a part of the reliefs from a ciborium, the rest of which we may see at a distance, all arbitrarily disposed of as if the sole object had been to stow away so much superfluous rubbish wherever convenient places were at hand.

Here, as elsewhere, we see the unmistakable proof that modern Rome respects little, and appreciates less, the genius of the Middle Ages. Much dignity, expression and unaffected truthfulness characterize several of these fifteenth-century sculptures, now seen only by the light of tapers, when we descend below St Peter's; though in some

instances the execution is rude, the design inferior and feeble. We may admire the statues of apostles from the destroyed tombs of pontiffs; as the St John and St Matthew and the two St James from that of Calixtus III.; the St John and St Bartholomew, and a relief of the Saviour blessing, an impressive figure, seated among clouds, from that of Nicholas V.; the relief of St Peter and St Paul before Nero, an elaborate composition, the numerous figures divided into groups of two or three by the columns of a Classic portico, from the ciborium of Sixtus IV.; also the numerous reliefs from the tomb of Paul II., the most conspicuous being that of the Last Judgment, a complicated work, in which some fine ideas announce themselves, though certain details partake of the grotesque; and the total absence of images borrowed from heathen mythology distinguishes this from the many treatments of its great subject by later art. A figure like a wrathful prophet, wild and sternly expressive, within an elliptic nimbus, surrounded by angels (from the same tomb), is less offensive than are many others in Roman churches intended for the Supreme Being. Reliefs of Our Lord giving the keys to St Peter, the healing of the cripple by that apostle, his Crucifixion, and the decollation of St Paul, are finest among a series from the above-mentioned ciborium of an altar erected by Sixtus IV., that, taken in the aggregate, point to decline rather than to progress, towards the close of the fifteenth century, as compared with its earlier productions.

Somewhat superior are the Cardinal and Theological Virtues from the tomb of Paul II. On that of Innocent VII. is a remarkably fine bronze statue, recumbent, with the pontifical vestments most highly finished. This effigy was

restored by order of Nicholas V., though who the original sculptor was has not been discovered. On the now vacant sarcophagus of Alexander VI. is a feeble relief portrait, singularly inferior to the works ordered by that Pope's predecessors. On two other monuments, not papal—to Cardinal Fonseca (1422) and to a Bishop Della Porta (1493) —are sculptures that indicate a good school. So also does the recumbent effigy of Paul II., on his tomb, by Mino da Fiesole; but many other sculptures, apostolic statues, and sculptured ornamental reliefs, strewn without system over those dim subterranean aisles and chapels, leave little impression, and attest little to the credit of the Roman schools that produced them.

San Giovanni Laterano

During the earlier days of the Christian Church, when to be a Christian was to incur the risk of persecution and suffering, the followers of the new religion were not anxious to have very large or conspicuous buildings appropriated to the performance of their services, which would attract public attention. On the contrary, they endeavoured to celebrate their rites in places where they could most effectually escape from general notice. But when the Emperor Constantine the Great had embraced Christianity, and was firmly seated on the throne of the Cæsars, the aspect of things was altogether changed. Constantine was one of the greatest builders of churches ever known; and the first church that he set himself to build was naturally intended by him to serve as the cathedral church (*i.e.*, the church in which the Bishop

should have his *cathedra*, his seat, or throne) of the then capital of the Empire, the city of Rome. Now Constantine, in right of his wife Fausta, happened to possess a very large palace in Rome, which at an earlier period had belonged to a senator named Plautius Lateranus, and hence was called "The Lateran." A portion of this palace he destroyed, and caused to be erected on the site a church, whilst he appropriated the remainder of the building as a residence for the Bishop. This church was solemnly dedicated to the Holy Saviour, *Sancto Salvatori*. Attached to the church was a small building or chapel, which Constantine intended to be used as a baptistery, and in which is still contained the large laver in which Constantine himself, towards the end of his life, received the Holy Sacrament of Baptism; and this chapel was dedicated to the memory of St John the Baptist; it contained also an altar dedicated to the other St John, the Evangelist. For some reason or other the baptistery, although only an adjunct to the main building, attracted more attention than the church itself, and so it came about that the entire church was generally called, and is to this day popularly known as, the Church of St John in the Lateran. But its original and real dedication is to St Saviour, and the building yet bears upon its front the inscription, "Christo Salvatori in honorem SS. Joan. Bapt. et Evang.": whilst another inscription proudly claims for it the title of being "Omnium Urbis et Orbis Ecclesiarum Mater et Caput," a designation which it is fully justified in claiming seeing that it is the original and real cathedral of the first city that publicly adopted Christianity as its recognized religion: and accordingly it was solemnly determined, when the question was raised some three centuries ago, that the

chapter of the Lateran church takes precedence of that of St Peter's, and the coronation of the popes (till that of Leo XIII.) is appointed to take place in this Lateran church; and although, in consequence of the unhealthy condition of this portion of the city, owing to the neglect of the drainage of the Campagna, the Lateran has been deserted for the Vatican ever since the days of Pope Gregory IX. (1227-1241), yet this church, in which no less than five General Councils have been held, is still, properly speaking, the real and true Cathedral Church of Rome.

We are not informed as to the population of Rome in the tenth century, but we may infer that it was relatively insignificant; for when the census was first taken within the mediæval period, under Innocent III. in 1198, it did not exceed 35,000. At that earlier epoch to which I have made allusion her collegiate churches numbered sixty (not including others), her monasteries also sixty, forty being for male and twenty for female inmates, and all following the Benedictine rule. At this period one fact that claims attention is the progressive ruin, through wilful demolition or hostile assault, of almost all the principal classical remains, and it is notorious that the practice long prevailed quite unchecked, permitted probably to citizens of every class, of taking down antique monuments, breaking up sculptures or marble fragments for the sake of their materials, as well as that of concealing (and thus fortunately preserving) their ruinous structures under ponderous brick towers, or within premises of castles. The term *Calvarius* affixed to many names in documents of these times does not imply "a burner of lime," but simply the fact that such persons possessed or lived

near great lime-kilns, fed, no doubt, with the marbles from Classic ruins; for, as Gregorovius correctly states, Rome had now become like one vast lime-kiln for burning ancient marbles to supply mediæval residences, in style probably as barbaric as their owners. If some appropriation of such objects were unjustifiable, others however may be excused, and were in harmony with the vocation of ancient Rome.

In his *Cose Gentilesche e profane* a writer named Marangoni computes that the number of Classic columns, marbles, porphyry, alabaster and other precious building materials taken from antique edifices to adorn the churches of Rome at this time amounted to nearly seven hundred.

During the troubled pontificate of John XII. (956-963) the principal basilicas were left in such desolate condition that the rain descended upon their altars. This disreputable young Pope has not had the credit of building or restoring church or chapel, or anything else, except only a sacristy at the Lateran, which he converted into a chapel under the title of St Thomas, for the convenience of robing himself before processions; and even that mother church, as well as other basilicas, he is said to have very frequently (*sæpissime*) despoiled.

The restoration of the Lateran was in truth a great achievement, the only one of importance effected in such sacred range during the tenth century; and deplorable indeed is the subsequent almost total disappearance by demolition or through tasteless alterations of the basilica of that age, as well as that of the adjacent palace, the chief residence of the popes for about a thousand years, and the scene of six General Councils, and which at last was demolished by order of Sixtus V. (1585-90), all its historic

art and sacred antiquities being thus destroyed at one fell swoop. The vicissitudes that passed over that venerable church, styled in an epigraph still read on its façade, *omnium orbis et urbis ecclesiarum caput et mater*, before it became reduced to the form it presents in our own day by those nuisances, the architects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are indeed strange. It is said that much of the ancient structure of the Lateran basilica remains immured as in a tomb within the ponderous and utterly tasteless (I may add worthless) architecture of the modern buildings. In the course of various repairs the coins of thirteen emperors were found embedded in its masonry. These thirteen emperors were successively the restorers and benefactors of this basilica, which was the scene of the coronations, installations and entombments of the popes. To mediæval feeling the Lateran was the very Mount Sion of Rome. Here were accumulated the most precious relics, both Pagan and Christian, the sacred spoils from the temple of Jerusalem, and the bronze wolf with twins, and the bronze tablet known as the "Lex Regia" of Vespasian. Referring to the honours of this tablet, a bull of Boniface VIII. sets forth that "if men knew what treasures of indulgence the Lateran church contains it would no longer be deemed necessary to go on pilgrimages to Jerusalem or to St Iago in Galicia" (*i.e.*, St James of Compostella). Here was the first seat of the Benedictine order in Rome. Seven cardinal bishops were appointed to officiate here as representing the Pope. Emperors were sometimes crowned, many popes were elected here, and this was the scene chosen by Cola di Rienzo for the fantastic ceremonial of his successive coronations.

The device of the Lateran chapter, a relief bust of Our

Lord between two candelabra, still seen on houses and other buildings in many different places, reminds us that it was originally not as "San Giovanni" but as the basilica of the Saviour that this primordial cathedral was known.

The church founded by Constantine seems to have been merely a great hall in the vast Lateran palace, whose ruins are still seen beyond the ancient gateway built into the Honorian walls. Of that edifice an authentic account has come down to us in an ancient transcript in the shape of a small rude relief now in a corridor leading to the sacristy. Unscientifically and hurriedly thrown up, like most of the same emperor's buildings, the Lateran fell into total ruin, sinking under the weight of its feeble age in 897. The coincidence of this ominous event with the short and tragic pontificate of Stephen II. was rendered infamous by his revolting procedure against the dead Formosus; his own career closed in popular tumult, for his imprisonment and violent death suggested the idea of divine vengeance, manifest in the fall of the chief among cathedrals, against the profanation of the holy see. John IX., elected in 898, was a virtuous and energetic pontiff. He projected, but did not live long enough to effect, the restoration; and we read that the workmen he sent to collect timber among the Apennines, near Spoleto, were stopped and robbed of all they carried with them by brigands. The consequence was the basilica lay for seven years a desolate ruin, only frequented by citizens with the object of ransacking and spoiling the débris. Priceless treasures, works of art, were thus irretrievably lost: *inter alia* the golden cross presented by Belisarius in thanksgiving for and with the inscribed record of all his victories.

Between 904 and 928 the rebuilding was completed by

Popes Sergius III. and John X.; and that it was restored from the very foundations is proved by a mosaic inscription quoted in a chronicle of the time, now in the Chigi Library:

> "Sergius ipse pius papa hanc recepit ab imis
> Tertius explevit illacu quam conspicia aulam." *

Even past magnificence was, as far as possible, revived by costly offerings intended for reproductions of those lost; and John X., who by gallant exertions, more in character perhaps with the warrior than the priest, had liberated Southern Italy from the scourge of Saracenic invasion, is related to have consecrated the richest spoils taken from the Moslem foes by dedicating them to this renovated basilica. An epigraph in quaint rhyming Latin verse, now on a cornice between the arcades of the façade, and supposed to be of the twelfth century, commences:

> "Dogmati papali datur ac imperiali,
> Quod sim cunctarum mater caput ecclesiarum,"

making this edifice to speak as a personality to tell that both by papal and imperial decree she has been appointed mother and chief of all churches on earth, and desires to become as a glorious throne, "inelita sedes" to Christ.

The buildings of Sergius and John X. may have vindicated the claims of this age to architectural genius, but they had brief existence, eventually falling a prey to the flames fatal to all that could be so destroyed. In 1084 they were greatly injured, and the adjacent papal palace was partly laid in ashes by the fire caused by the troops of Robert Guiscard. In 1130 Innocent II. carried out various repairs;

* "Sergius III., that pious Pope, who commenced it from its foundations, completed the sacred temple which thou beholdest."

mosaics were placed on the façade representing the stories of the conversion of Constantine and St Sylvester at some period within the twelfth century ; and between 1288 and 1292 Nicholas V. caused the fore and rear portions to be renewed, other decayed parts to be strengthened by iron bands, and that semicircular apse to be built in which we still see the valuable mosaics supposed of the date 1290, though believed by Messrs Crowe and Cavalcaselle to be in the greater portion an earlier work restored and added to by the artists under Nicholas IV. In 1308 occurred the first, and in 1360 the second conflagration of the ancient Lateran ; after the first of which disasters Clement V. sent from Avignon large sums for repairs, commenced in 1309, but after the second, in which the colonnades were crushed by the falling in of the roof, the basilica was again left for about four years a totally neglected ruin. In this state it was seen by Petrarch, who alludes to it in his eloquent appeal to the pontiff at Avignon ; urging the re-establishment of the holy see at Rome. "With what heart," says the patriot poet, addressing Urban V., "with what heart, holy father—forgive the boldness of my zeal—canst thou sleep under the gilded ceilings of thy chambers on the banks of the Rhone, whilst the Lateran, mother of all churches, is lying low, without even a roof, abandoned to wind and weather ; whilst the sanctuaries of St Peter and St Paul are tottering in decay, and what once were temples of apostles left in ruin, formless heaps of stone, which might surely draw tears from those whose hearts are stone? " Nor was this appeal thrown away. In 1364 the entire restoration of the Lateran basilica commenced, as ordered by Urban V., at costs mainly by wealthy benefactors of various countries ; and in the course of the works

ensuing was erected that magnificent, soaring Gothic tabernacle over the high altar, rich in sculpture and paintings for the relics (*i.e.*, the skulls, kept in jewelled silver busts) of SS. Peter and Paul.* The high altar is said to contain another much-prized relic—part of the wooden table on which St Peter used to celebrate the Holy Eucharist in the house of the Christian Senator Pudens, who entertained him at Rome. Later restorations and embellishments of the Lateran were ordered by various popes ; by Martin V. the adornment of the attics with fresco paintings by the best artists of the day ; by Sixtus IV. the rebuilding of the two belfry towers ; other works by Eugenius IV. and Alexander VI. But unfortunately, in the new direction given to taste and art in the sixteenth century, it was determined to transform this ancient basilica completely ; and this ill-counselled undertaking, commenced under Pius IV., carried on with special vigour by Sixtus V. and Alexander VII., was brought to a close in 1736 by the addition of the façade with double porticos and loggia for the papal benediction—a fine example of the modern Italian style from the designs of Alessandro Gallilei, but utterly alien to the antique Basilican style.

The dimensions of San Giovanni Laterano are enormous, consisting of five aisles, originally divided by stone or marble columns, which in the middle of the seventeenth century showed signs of weakness, and Borromini was then consulted. In the emergency he suggested the idea of encasing the columns and filling up every alternate arch

* Illustrations of these busts, together with some description, may be found in Seroux d'Agincourt's *Histoire de l'Art et ses Monuments*, 1847.

with solid masonry, and facing the nave walls with pilasters of the Composite Order, reaching from the floor to the ceiling, or within a short distance of the latter. These solid pieces were adorned with large niches of a very debased style of art, and in which were placed statues of the apostles of colossal dimensions.* This arrangement was finally carried out, and, if we could only overlook the shortcomings in the detail, we must confess that the architect displayed much ability by his manner of dealing with the awkward task imposed upon him.

These statues are characteristic specimens of the school of Bernini, with all its extravagances, and yet, with their acknowledged faults, the effect of such an array of colossal figures by sculptors of the school of Bernini is imposing. The best perhaps is Rossi's St James. Of these figures in the Lateran basilica Sir Joshua Reynolds says: "They appear to me to fall under the censure of an injudicious imitation of the manner of painters. The drapery of those figures, from being disposed in large masses, gives undoubtedly that air of grandeur which magnitude of quantity is sure to produce; but though it be acknowledged that it is managed with great skill and intelligence, and contrived

* Bunsen, in his *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, gives an interior view of the Lateran basilica as he supposes it to have been before the alterations of Borromini, the nave being divided from its aisles by a noble and lofty series of semicircular arches on tall round columns, with capitals of various orders. Above the arcades is a tall wall space, panelled and decorated with paintings, a clerestory of large, wide pointed windows, without mullions or tracery, and an open roof of gabled form. In the aisles Bunsen gives a series of arcades similar to those in the nave, but with their columns raised on tall pedestals. Above these arcades are arches commensurate in width with those below, and looking into the lean-to roofs over the flanking aisles, which are also lighted by plain lancets, such as we see in the present apse.

Rome: Interior of San Giovanni Laterano.

Rome: Cloisters of San Giovanni Laterano.

to appear as light as the materials will allow, yet the weight and solidity of stone was not to be overcome."

The great ornament of this church is the first chapel on the left-hand side of the nave, and known as the Corsini chapel. It is square on plan, but having a large recess on each of the four sides, thus giving it the form of a Greek cross. The whole is surmounted by a cupola and adorned with paintings and marble of the most precious description. Indeed, this Corsini chapel in the Lateran, from the designs of Alessandro Galilei (1729), is unsurpassed in the magnificence of its decoration, except perhaps by that of the Borghese family in Sta Maria Maggiore. Notwithstanding this exuberance of ornamentation, the whole has been controlled and subdued by a correct taste, which cannot fail to be appreciated after the deformities of Borromini's nave. The porphyry sarcophagus, which forms the tomb of Clement XII., formerly stood under the portico of the Pantheon ; the cover is modern ; the bronze statue of the Pope is by Maini, and the two lateral figures are by Carlo Monaldi. Opposite is the tomb of Cardinal Neri Corsini, with his statue and two sitting figures by Maini. To Rusconi and others of the Bernini school are ascribed the figures in the niches representing the Cardinal Virtues, but as works of art they are hardly entitled to praise.

Except on certain great occasions the high altar of the Lateran, like that of the Vatican basilica, is not used, the services being performed in the small but sumptuously-decorated Capella del Coro on the left-hand side of the great apse. Its dimensions, however, are not sufficiently large for the admission of the public, who must assist at

the sacred offices without the grilles in the vast transeptal space.

In the actual Lateran the sole remains of tenth-century architecture is the aisle behind the apse, with groined vaulting in bars, divided by granite and marble columns of unequal scale, and without basements, their capitals either Ionic or debased Corinthian. This compartment was originally semicircular, but has been reduced by modern works to a pentagon; its character reminding us of the Gothic, though it cannot be strictly classed among examples of that style which first appeared south of the Alps. Among the few other details preserved from this ancient basilica, but no longer in their original positions, are the four tall bronze columns, fluted and gilt, that now flank the altar of the Blessed Sacrament. These pillars are said to have been brought by Titus from Jerusalem, also to have been filled with earth from the Holy Land. Formerly they were placed at the angles of the high altar, and destined to support statues of silver and gold as well as lamps, in which on high days precious balsams used to be burned. These columns are alluded to in an inventory of relics, written in mosaic letters of gold (of the thirteenth century), set into a wall of the above-named aisle, where we also read of the deposit at the Lateran of *all* the sacred vessels from the Temple at Jerusalem represented in the relief on the triumphal arch of Titus.

Two fine mosaic heads of Our Lord have been erroneously ascribed to the fifth century; one is on a tympanum at the summit of the façade, the other, more sternly impressive and dark-complexioned than the former (which is indeed fine), on the upper part of the apse, overlooking the sanctuary, above and quite

distinct from the large mosaic group that occupies the entire conch of the apse below.*

Giotto's valuable fresco, the portrait of Boniface VIII., was not originally painted for the interior of this church, where we now see it on the pilaster of an aisle, but for a portico of the adjacent palace, whence used to be given the papal Benediction with publication of the Plenary Indulgence. The act there represents it as occurring in the Jubilee year, 1300, the pontiff being shown as blessing with uplifted hand, whilst a cleric reads the Bull of Indulgence. Another papal portrait at the Lateran, doubtless authentic, is a kneeling statue of Nicholas IV., now in the aisle behind the apse, but it is a barbaric specimen of the thirteenth-century art. The building of the tenth century is exemplified in the outer walls of the same aisle, which display an irregular construction of brick, here and there filled up with stone, and are all that remains externally of the church of Popes Sergius and John X.

The greatest disaster in the monumental range suffered in Rome during the fourteenth century was the burning of this Lateran basilica on the night of the 5th of May 1308, when the building of the tenth century was destroyed in all the principal parts. The choir, nave and adjacent canonical residence fell in, and the silver tabernacle of the high altar melted away. In the minds of the thronging spectators it is said that the regret uppermost was for the loss of the relic enclosed within that altar—the wooden table on which it was believed St Peter had celebrated the Eucharist in the house of the Senator Pudens; but all those present were consoled when it became known that courageous men had risked their lives to save that object

* *See* p. 89.

and succeeded in bringing it, unscathed, to a place of safety. The ruin of the great papal cathedral struck all the citizens—it might be said all Europe—with dismay, and the wrath of Heaven was deemed to have declared itself through this catastrophe, in the same manner as when the elder church, built by Constantine, had sunk into ruin by natural decay during the last decade of the ninth century. Soon, however, an enthusiastic zeal for the second restoration of San Giovanni Laterano manifested itself. Large sums were contributed towards the undertaking from Avignon and other cities, first by Clement V., shortly after the fire, and again by Benedict XII., in 1324; whilst indulgences were granted to all who should make offerings. Rich and poor, men, women and children, persons of all classes, offered their gratuitous labours; and the new basilica presently rose with some degree of splendour, in intended imitation of the old, but soon to suffer from another similar disaster; for in 1360 another fire broke out, which caused the entire roof to fall in, crushing the columns of the nave, and reducing the whole to that desolation in which it was left during four years, as seen and lamented over by Petrarch. Besides the testimony in that poet's letters, we find also allusion to the architecture of the Lateran in the pages of Dante, for amidst the glories of the beatific vision in his imagined *Paradise* it is thus remembered:

> "Quando Laterano
> Alle cose mortali andò di sopra."
> (*Paradiso*, canto xxxi.)

The third restoration was due to Urban V., with liberal aid from Charles V. of France; and the same Pope erected the magnificent Gothic tabernacle that still rises on columns, rich in coloured marbles, sculpture, painting and

gilt carvings above the high altar—now attesting, with but too strongly-marked contrast, how different the taste in the fourteenth century from that of the later age to which the rest of the actual interior mainly belongs ; the effect of this accessory being splendid, but most incongruous. On the tympanum of the pyramidal apex of this canopy are different reliefs of the Saviour ; at the angles above the columns statuettes under pointed canopies ; round the suole, or first storey, several paintings on panels, ascribed to Berna di Siena, a little-known artist, these pictures in their present state being partly due to modern hands, and their subjects the Annunciation, Crucifixion, Coronation of the Virgin, the Virgin and Child enthroned, the four Latin doctors, and other saints ; besides which are figures of angels, probably (as well as the gilding) added in the seventeenth century, when the whole was renovated for the occasion of the Jubilee year, 1675, by Clement X.

On the front of the altar are other relief figures of SS. Peter and Paul, recognizable by the well-known types, and apparently of the same period as the tabernacle, but little creditable to the sculpture school of that age. In the shrine forming the upper part of the canopy Urban V. caused the reputed skulls of St Peter and St Paul to be placed. Transferred here from the Sancta Sanctorum, and set in jewelled busts of silver, they were estimated in total value at 30,000 florins, and in 1649, after many donations of jewellery had enriched them further, reported as equivalent to 50,000 scudi. From Platina's narrative it seems that Pope Urban had found these relics after their location had been forgotten ; and the transfer to the Lateran was attended with all the pomp of the papal court and the *personnel* of the Roman clergy. But in the course of

modern vicissitudes the silver busts were lost, and replaced by others now containing the relics, and which are probably of value far inferior.

The vault of the apse, built by Nicholas IV., displays a great mosaic, one of the most admirable for composition and mystic meanings in Rome. At the summit is a colossal head of the Saviour amidst floating figures of six-winged cherubim, ascribed by some to the time of Constantine, and said by legends to represent the actual vision of the Redeemer in the semblance worn by Him on earth, manifest on the same spot during the consecration of this church by St Sylvester in the presence of the Emperor. Below rises in the midst an ornamented cross, at the base of which issue the four rivers of Paradise—or, the sense which seems more profoundly suitable and mystic, the Evangelists, sources of spiritual refreshment and truth; their waters being supplied from a mystic fountain that flows down both sides of the cross, streaming from the beak of the divine dove that hovers at the summit. Between these rivers, also at the foot of the sacred tree, is seen, as in distance, the celestial city with towers and walls of gold, its gate guarded by an archangel wielding a golden sword; a palm tree rising from the midst with a phœnix, emblem of the Resurrection, on its branches; stags, emblems of the neophyte, or the thirst for spiritual waters, and sheep (the faithful) being seen approaching to drink of the four rivers. On the same level beneath the cross stand several colossal figures—Mary, who lays one hand on the head of a kneeling pope, Nicholas IV., and raises the other hand in act of devout attention; St Peter with a scroll (instead of keys) on which we read, "Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi"; St Paul, also with a scroll, dis-

playing the words, " Salvatorem expectamus Dominum Jesum " ; St John the Baptist, without any object in his hand ; St John the Evangelist with a scroll on which is the divine exordium, " In principio erat Verbum " ; and St Andrew, on whose scroll we read, " Tu es Filius Dei Christus." The name of each of these figures is inscribed vertically above, except that of the Virgin, who has the Greek monogram for " Mother of God " over her head ; the matron-dignity of her figure being in accordance with the earliest, very different from later, admitted types. Introduced among these saints, but on a smaller scale, we see St Francis (almost his first appearance in art), recognizable by the brown habit and the mysterious " stigmata," also his follower, St Antony of Padua. The verdant and flowery plain in which the principal figures stand, as well as several other miniature figures, that seem disporting among the flowers, represents the garden of the true Eden ; and in front flows the Jordan, on whose waters are swans swimming, and boats rowed by other miniature figures ; this subordinate part in the composition reminds us of the Classic rather than the Christian. On a lower level, between the windows, are figures of the principal prophets, and portraits of two other Franciscan friars. These latter are the artists engaged for this mosaic by Pope Nicholas, and we read their names in epigraphs near the two extremities at this level : " Jacobus Turriti pictor hoc opus fecit—Fra Jacobus de Camerino socius magistri." These accessorial figures are treated in a manner so different from the larger group that we may distinguish the work of other hands, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle maintain the view that the Franciscan Fra Jacobus, author of the mosaics in the tribune of the Baptistery at Florence, cannot be sup-

posed the artist of this great composition, in its original form, which is far superior to all his known works ; though we may believe him to have been employed on this apse in 1290, and to have in part renewed the figure of one angel, the heads of the Madonna, St Paul and St John the Baptist ; to have introduced the figure of the Pope, his employer, and those of the two friars, chief saints of his own order ; also, probably, to have executed all those of the prophets between the windows. The principal composition has been attributed to Gaddo Gaddi.

In this great mosaic of the Lateran we have three epochs in the vicissitudes of the mosaic art, and certainly the head of the Saviour, in its simple and severe outline, resembling that of another mosaic of the subject at Sant Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, and the majestic, saintly forms standing beside the cross, surpass in power and expression most works referable to later periods.

In 1876 the work of enlarging the apse of the Lateran was commenced by order of Pius IX., it being considered that the space it afforded was insufficient for the celebration of the religious ceremonies with that decorum required in the cathedral church of Rome, *mater et caput* of all others. The works were, however, soon suspended on account of the alarm raised by archæologists, artists and historians at the contemplated demolition of the ancient apse, and the great possibility of the important mosaics within it being irreparably injured, if not destroyed, in process of taking them down from their original position and replacing them in the new apse to be constructed.

On His Holiness Leo XIII. ascending the pontifical throne he ordered an examination to be made into the archæological and liturgical exigencies of the case, and the

ROME: CHOIR AND APSE OF SAN GIOVANNI LATERANO.

possibilities of reconciling them. The investigations were carried out under the supervision of a member of the Sacred College of great authority in archæology, who ultimately set forth their results in two papers—a general report, in fact, in two parts—which he read before the Pope; and of this report the Cardinal in question published, anonymously, for private circulation, a summary of which the following is an epitome.

The first step taken was the nomination of a Commission, composed of three distinguished Italian archæologists, to report upon the antiquity of the apse and the mosaics within it; and their decision was contrary to the opinions expressed by some, that the apse and a portion of the mosaics belong to the time of Constantine. In the pamphlets it was pointed out that the construction of the apse was not of that period; that no such stamps bearing the initials of Constantine had been found on the bricks as were discovered in numbers when the apse of old St Peter's was demolished under the direction of Bramante; that the original apse was reconstructed by Sergius II. in 845, when he was compelled by the canon law to enlarge the cathedral church, and that his apse, after having been repaired by Sergius III. in the tenth century, was in so ruinous a condition at the end of the thirteenth that it was rebuilt from the foundations by Nicholas IV. Moreover, the exactness of these historical details was demonstrated in the course of the works as far as they were carried during the lifetime of Pius IX. The lower portion of the apse of Sergius, of distinct construction from that of Nicholas IV., built upon it, was exposed, and the foundations of the apse of Constantine, of smaller size, and nearer the high altar, were discovered within the area.

Notwithstanding these proofs of archæological value of the actual apse being much inferior to " the imaginary assertions of some antiquarians," the Pope, desirous of everything being done to perpetuate its existence, resolved to appoint a commission of architects of known engineering reputation to consider the practicability of transporting the apse by mechanical appliances to the end of the new tribune projected; and to guarantee an impartial, and obtain what might be considered an authoritative international opinion, an Austrian, a French and an Italian engineer of high reputation were invited to sit upon it. This Commission met in Rome, and after a diligent examination of the building, and the discussion of various systems of mechanical transport, gave a unanimous opinion to the effect that, considering the condition of the construction, which had been weakened by successive restorations and alterations, and the precarious adherence of the mosaics to the walls, no mechanical means of transport, however delicate, could be employed without serious danger to the preservation of the monument; and as the slightest accident might involve the irreparable loss of the mosaics, the best course to pursue would be to detach them from the actual wall, and replace them on that of the new apse to be constructed. But there still remained the question, Could these mosaics be taken down and replaced elsewhere without injury? This question was answered in the affirmative by the Cavalier Consoni, director of the Vatican Mosaic Works, and Signors Sarti and Fontana, of the architectural department of these works, to whom it was referred. In support of their opinion they stated that the great mosaic of the colossal head of the Saviour, with the figures of the four-and-twenty elders,

of the time of Leo I., on the triumphal arch of the new basilica of St Paul without the walls, was removed from the arch of the old basilica destroyed by fire in 1823 and safely replaced in its present position ; and further, that the remains of the mosaic front of the basilica were also detached and replaced uninjured, partly on the upper part of the inner, or tribune, side of the triumphal arch, and partly on the walls extending from each side of the apse.

Considering, then, that these investigations proved that neither the apse nor the upper part of the mosaic belongs to the time of Constantine or to any period anterior to the end of the thirteenth century ; that the idea of moving the apse by mechanical appliances was impracticable ; that the mosaic could be taken down and replaced without injury ; and especially that the liturgical requirements of the basilica demanded the enlargement of the tribune, Leo XIII. decided that the works, which had been suspended soon after their commencement, should be resumed—the old apse demolished, and the mosaic replaced in that of the new tribune to be constructed.

To judge, with full knowledge of cause, the character of such works, we must rise above the narrow rivalries of architects and the exclusive considerations of archæologists. We must enter into the serene horizon of sacred liturgy, of Christian art, and of antiquity, in order to form a comprehensive judgment corresponding to their reciprocal requirements, and this was the conception which inspired Leo XIII. in prescribing the amplification of the Lateran apse. "The claims of the monument," said the Pope, "shall be cared for in the removal of the existing apse, if that be possible, but the mosaic shall be scrupulously preserved and placed in the new apse."

Art, therefore, has rejoiced in seeing the Lateran basilica crowned with a spacious tribune, placing all its parts in symmetrical proportion; and although the Sistine portico has not yet been prolonged as far as the Baptistery of Constantine, the late revered Pontiff, on the completion of the work in the apse, had the glory of repeating the bold words of Horace—"*Exegi monumentum ære perennius.*"

The fourteenth century has left fewer traces of its life and genius in Rome than in almost any among the more celebrated and ancient cities of Italy.

Among the few examples of art-illustration, pertaining to the higher order, there fortunately remains one to record a memorable event of the year 1300. I refer to Giotto's picture, now on the second pier of the first aisle on the right in San Giovanni Laterano, representing Boniface VIII. conceding the plenary indulgence in the Jubilee year (or "anno santo") instituted by him, and first celebrated at that date. This scene, witnessed by Dante, took place on the balcony of the loggia, added by the same Pontiff to the Lateran palace, whose walls were adorned with a series of paintings by the same artist, representing the Baptism of Constantine, the building of the basilica now under description, and the benediction from the same loggia; the last picture having been transferred to the spot where we now see it, and restored by order of the Prince Gaetani, one of Pope Boniface's lineal descendants.

In the new "confessional" (or semi-subterranean chapel) before the high altar of the Lateran basilica is now seen the tomb of Martin V., transferred hither from the nave after Pius IX. had added the new oratory descended into by steps.

That Pope of the Colonna family lies in a marble sarcophagus adorned with graceful intagli, the cover being bronze. Of the same material is the full-length relief of his figure, in all the splendour of his pontifical costume, by two Florentines, Filarete, and Simone, the brother of Donatello; which latter, the more celebrated artist, is said to have visited Rome in order to revise, if not correct, this work. It is said that when the tomb was opened for transfer from its former place in the nave, to the surprise of all present it was found destitute of all remnants of the Pontiff's body once laid therein! In other monuments of the fifteenth century at the Lateran we find little to commend.

On the Saturday before Palm Sunday, about ten o'clock in the morning, is seen a stately procession at the Lateran. Preceded by torch-bearers and the veiled crucifix, it passes from the chief portal of the basilica to the adjacent buildings of the Passionist convent and the "Scala Santa," that contains also a beautiful old chapel, the sole remnant of that palace where the popes resided for about a thousand years, and which was at last doomed to demolition, in order to make room for the present heavy and long useless Lateran palaces built by Fontana at the bidding of Sixtus V. Slowly ascending the staircase lateral to that sacred one which none ever mount except on the knees, the ecclesiastical company pass in silence through a modern chapel of St Laurence into the ancient one of the same dedication, but which is more commonly known as the "Sancta Sanctorum," on account of the wealth of relics enshrined over its sole altar. So revered is this olden oratory that the public are at no time indiscriminately admitted, females never; neither mass

nor vespers are any more celebrated here; and it is only open on the few occasions when, as on this morning, the Lateran Chapter enters it for a special devotion, the main object being to expose and venerate the picture above its altar, regarded as an authentic portrait of the Saviour, life-size, said to have been begun by St Luke and finished by an angel; hence its traditional name, the "Achiropiton," *i.e.*, made without hands.* When the capitular clergy are assembled, all kneeling within these walls, certain psalms and prayers are chanted, incense is burnt before the picture, and two clerics advance to open the gilt valves that cover it, whilst some verses of the "Stabat Mater" are chanted in dirge-like strains; incense is again offered, and after a devotional silence all rise to leave in the same order, singing the "Te Deum" as they slowly file from the interior and descend the steps. This impressive and picturesque observance excites an idea of mystery and of concentrated sanctity, investing its scene as with enchanted atmosphere; and the epigraph in gold read along an architrave over the altar, "Non est in toto sanetior orbe locus," seems fit expression of local claims so exalted. But it is as a monument of the thirteenth century, and of a style in its leading features genuine Gothic, preserved intact, and therefore almost unique among Roman churches, that the rich and solemn, though small chapel of the vanished papal palace must be considered.

Of its origin nothing is known; but it was certainly anterior to the time of Pelagius I. (578-90), who deposited

* The exposition of this picture, with the same picturesque observances, occurs at different seasons, and for an interval it is left unveiled in its chapel, to be again covered when the Lateran clergy return to shut it up with like forms as at the opening of its shrine.

here the relics of St Luke and St Andrew. The actual edifice is a restoration by Nicholas III. (about 1278); and to the same period belong its paintings and mosaics, though the former have been entirely renewed. An inscription near the entrance, "Magister Cosmatus fecit hoc opus," implies that its architect was one of a family celebrated throughout the thirteenth century, and who is supposed to have been Deodatus, of that house, whose name is read on the fragment of a marble tabernacle in the Lateran cloisters, and who wrought the altar-canopy in Sta Maria in Cosmedin.*

It appears that originally this chapel was larger than at present, for it certainly had three instead of (as now) but one altar; and the larger scale seems more probable as requisite for the several pontifical ceremonies that used to take place here: *inter alia* the washing, on Holy Thursday, of the feet of twelve sub-deacons by the Pope, who afterwards performed the same service to twelve paupers. On various occasions the Pontiff and Cardinals used to visit this chapel, entering barefoot, to revere the sacred image, which was annually removed from its place on the Festival of the Assumption, to be carried in procession to Sta Maria Maggiore—a usage abolished by Pius V. in 1566 on account of disorders sometimes ensuing in the late hours when this picture was brought back, amidst throngs of people, to its shrine in the Sancta Sanctorum.

* *Vide* an interesting paper by Professor Formilli on the works of the Cosmati, read before the Royal Institute of British Architects, 28th Nov. 1910. Also a leading article in the *Architect* of 2nd Dec. on the same subject, chiefly in connection with mosaic work and those pavements of "Opus Romanorum," often wrongly called, "Opus Alexandrinum."

Over the altar here, which was consecrated by Nicholas III., extends a closed gallery, where the relics are kept, supported by porphyry columns. Below is a vault, covered with mosaics on a gold ground, having for their subject a colossal head of Our Lord, distinguished by a certain severe grandeur, within a nimbus, borne by floating figures of six-winged angels. It has been supposed that these mosaics are of the eighth or ninth century, and they bear no traces of the revival that dawns in the later years of the thirteenth. The walls of this chapel are almost covered with figures and groups of saints painted in compartments between slender pilasters—if so old as the thirteenth century no doubt modernized by restorers' hands. The revered picture is concealed, even when the veil is withdrawn before it, save the head alone of the full-length figure, by a silver cover elaborately adorned with reliefs, the gift of Innocent III.; nor is even the head actually seen the original, but a copy, painted on linen or silk, in the thirteenth century, for protection of that which is so hidden. On that silver case are many miniature figures of saints in high relief, besides a minute decoration like a pattern in needlework; and above the feet are two tiny groups, each surmounted by the well-known device of the Lateran Chapter, a bust of the Saviour between two candelabra. The arrangement for opening valves at this part, in order to uncover the feet, as used to be done when they were washed with rose-water at certain halting-places in the annual procession to Sta Maria Maggiore, should be noted by those privileged to view this Achiropiton picture. The different theories as to the origin of this precious relic, and of the manner in which it reached Rome, are stated with much naïveté by

Moroni;* that the Apostles and the Virgin Mary, meeting to confer after the Ascension, resolved to have a portrait executed for satisfying the devout curiosity of all the faithful, and commissioned St Luke for the task; that after three days' prayer and fasting such a portrait was drawn in outline by that artist, but before he had begun to colour it, it was found that the tints had been filled in by invisible hands; that this picture was brought from Jerusalem to Rome either by St Peter or by Titus (together with the sacred spoils from the temple), or else expedited hither, its miraculous voyage being accomplished in twenty-four hours (!) by St Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, in order that such a treasure might be saved from the outrages of the Iconoclasts; and that, about A.D. 726, Pope Gregory II., apprised of its arrival at the mouth of the Tiber by revelation, proceeded solemnly to carry it thence, with due escort, to Rome, since which period it has remained in the Lateran sanctuary.

The monastery once adjoining San Giovanni Laterano was the first seat of the Benedictines in Rome, after they had here taken refuge on the demolition of their ancient cloister at Monte Cassino by the Longobardic invaders in the sixth century. This Lateran monastery was restored by Gregory III. about 752, but its buildings were subsequently left to desolation and decay, till rebuilt by Eugenius IV. (1431-47), perhaps in every part, except the beautiful cloisters still extant. These were built about the year 1227 by the most talented artist of his day, Vassallectus, and his father, a fact which only came to light about a quarter of a century ago. They are the prototype of that beautiful type of cloister with elaborate decorations in

* *Dizion. di Erudizione Eccles.*, article "Scala Santa."

stucco and mosaic work, and with double-twisted colonnettes sustaining entablatures and panelled arches, which was even then termed the Roman style.

The walks are divided into square bays, which are covered with pointed vaults, springing from Ionic columns without bases set inside the arcades looking on to the garth, and from responding pilasters in the walls opposite. Together with the similar structure at San Paolo fuori le Mura, these cloisters, the Lateran and the Ostian, considered together present the finest examples of the mediæval style in Rome; their graceful arcades rest on slight shafts, single or coupled, spiral and fluted, or plain and erect, some with mosaic inlaid in their channels like flowery wreaths; above their low arches a rich fringe of coloured marbles is carried round the entire quadrangle, in the midst of which is a pleasant garden.

Here, and in other parts of the Lateran buildings, may be seen the remnant of a large twisted marble candelabrum resting on a couchant lion; fragments of marble encrustation with coffers and rosettes, and other noticeable details, carelessly thrown together here, and saved (I presume) from the scattered treasures of the earlier basilica; also the porphyry slab set vertically between columns against a wall, and said to be the stone on which the soldiers cast lots for the garment of the Crucified; a measure formed by a slab resting on four pillars, said to be that of the stature of Our Lord; a puteal (marble well-head) with mouldings apparently of the tenth century, reputed to be that at which He conversed with the Woman of Samaria; two marble columns, split, as believed, by the earthquake at the time of the Crucifixion. Other sculptured marbles and monumental statues in these cloisters of the

Lateran are interesting specimens of fifteenth-century art.

The regular canons, called, from their establishment on this site, " Lateranenses," are said to have been originally located here by Gelasius I. in 492, but removed by Boniface VIII. in order to give place to the secular canons, who form the chapter under a Cardinal Archpriest, still charged with the officiating of this papal cathedral.

San Giovanni in Fonte

This is the baptistery of the Lateran, commonly known as the Baptistery of Constantine, and was built by St Sylvester at the command of that emperor, who, however, notwithstanding popular tradition, was not baptized here, but in Nicomedia. Sylvester lined the basin of the font with silver, surrounding it with the eight porphyry columns, which carried a gilded cupola, as we are told by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in his *Liber Pontificalis*.

A century later Sixtus III. enlarged the baptistery, and Hilarius added the chapels of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist. In the middle of the seventh century John IV. built the chapel of San Venanzio. Modern restorations have not altered the structure of this building, which in plan is an octagon of 28 feet diameter, covered by a dome and separated from an octagonal aisle by eight ancient columns of red porphyry with capitals of various orders, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite. These carry an architrave, above which is a second range of white marble columns and a heavy entablature reaching to the flat panelled ceiling of the circumambient aisle, and bearing

the drum of the octagonal dome, which appears outside above the roof of the encircling aisle only as a low octagonal wall pierced by small round windows and covered with a low roof. The central space is enclosed by a balustrade, within which is the ancient basin sunk three steps below the pavement. In the middle stands the venerated font of green basalt. The wall of the aisle has in four of its sides great square panels filled with pictures representing the exploits of Constantine, above which are four square windows with tasteless decorations. The building is approached by a vestibule with two apsidal chapels on its sides. From two opposite sides of the surrounding aisle open chapels dating from the fifth century, dedicated to the two St Johns above mentioned, and from a third side opens the oratory of San Venanzio, a square apartment with a semicircular apse. Here are a modern altar and monuments of the Ceva family, to whom it belonged. On the vault over it is a remarkable mosaic of the seventh century, representing Our Lord between two angels, in the act of giving his benediction, with the Virgin and Saints below, those at each end being the founders, John IV. holding a model of the Oratory, and Theodorus I. a book. On the face of the arch are the two Holy Cities, the emblems of the Evangelists, and full-length figures of eight saints, remarkable as showing the costumes of the period—SS. Paulanus, Tellius, Asterius and Anastasius on one side, Maurus, Septimius, Antiochianus and Gaianus on the other. As works of art these mosaics are rude in execution, but interesting from their early period. They were restored as we now see them in 1674, having suffered great degradation.

The mosaic roofs of St John the Evangelist's Chapel are of the fifth century, and represent arabesques in the style

ROME: INTERIOR OF SAN PAOLO FUORI LE MURA.

ROME: CLOISTERS OF SAN PAOLO FUORI LE MURA.

of those in the Baths of Titus, groups of birds—ducks, parroquets, red-legged partridges and doves—and fruits, with the mystic lamb in the centre.

While I was in San Giovanni one Sunday morning the baptism of an infant took place, and at intervals during the ceremony the acolyte who was in attendance upon the ministrant of the rite expectorated upon the mosaic pavement surrounding the font.

It is probable that the interior of this baptistery furnished the model for those fine German Romanesque octagons existing perfectly at Aachen and Ottmarsheim, and but imperfectly at Essen.

Sta Maria Maggiore

Of all Rome's ancient basilicas Sta Maria Maggiore is the one that most preserves, together with accessories of modern magnificence, all the essential features of the ancient Romanesque. The well-known and beautiful legend of the founding of this great church by Pope Liberius (352-366) after the indicating of its site by the preternatural fall of snow in the month of August and the two-fold vision of the Blessed Virgin explaining the intent of that miracle (with her own similarly-conveyed behest to the Pope and to the pious patrician Joannes) need not be detailed here. The whole story is illustrated in one of the finest mosaic compositions of the thirteenth century on the façade of the basilica—a work, lamentable to relate, in part concealed by the loggia above a portico, the ungraceful addition to the façade, ordered by Benedict XIV. in 1743. If required for the papal benediction,

formerly given here on the 15th of August (the Feast of the Assumption), no adequate excuse can be found for the mischief done here by that unhappy adjunct.

The interesting mosaic in question was ordered by two cardinals, Giacomo and Pietro Colonna, towards the end of the thirteenth century, but was completed (probably by the Florentine Gaddo Gaddi) during the first decade of the succeeding one.

In the higher part of the composition we see Our Lord seated on a richly-ornamented throne, giving benediction in the Latin form, and holding a book open at the words, "Ego sum lux mundi." The figure is majestic, the countenance severely solemn, the attitude noble. Below are angels supporting the circular nimbus amid which He appears, and two others with candelabra, worshipping in front; above the throne are the four winged emblems; laterally to the principal figure is the Virgin, of matronly aspect, attired in a long blue mantle and veil; SS. Peter and Paul, John the Baptist, Andrew and Luke. St Paul (an expressive figure) has the sword; St Peter is without the keys, but displays on a scroll his confession of divinity: "Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi." Between the several scenes of the legend are the Madonna (a half figure within a nimbus, from which emanate rays) seen by the Pope in his dream, and again appearing to the patrician Joannes. The latter is represented as recounting his vision to the Pontiff, who receives him, seated on his throne and crowned amidst the ecclesiastical court. Lastly we have Pope Liberius tracing the foundations of the church with a wand upon the snow-covered platform, on which is the word "Congregatio," while both the Saviour and the Blessed Virgin appear, within encircling glories, in air,

and a multitude of priests and laics stand around. Beneath the principal figure in the throne is the record, "Philip Rosati hoc opus fecit" (this artist being classed among the pupils of the Cosmati school); and underneath those groups in the lower file, ascribed to Gaddi, are several epigraphs, the first and last being partly concealed: "P.P. Liberio dicens, fac mihi ecclesiam immote su pagio * sicut dixit dicat (am): quum eadem nocte apparuit Joh. Patricio idem dicens Nonis Augusti; quum Johs. Pat. ivit ad Papam Liberium p. visionem quam viderat; quum Papa et Johs. Pat. cum Clero Populo Roman. rivend.† ex beata vir(gine)."

Iconographists will regard this legend with unusual interest, because it is an evidence of its acceptance by modern art and modern belief in two representations: one a gilt sculpture over the altar of the splendid Borghese chapel at this basilica; another, a relief in the tribune. More solemn sanction is still given to it in ritual, when, on the festival of Sta Maria della Neve (5th August), roses descend in symbolic showers from the carved panels of the ceiling during High Mass and vespers in this same church; a singular example of that largely poetic spirit, that admits all and gives its own light to all capable of being moulded into religious meaning in Italian Catholicism.

The sole remnant of the portico added by Eugenius III. (1145-1153) is an architrave, with the dedication to the Blessed Virgin, now set into the external walls on one side. So significant, indeed, is that record of the worship of St Mary in the twelfth century, accordant with the devotional sense manifest in the mosaics at the vast Transtibertine

* Probably *sub palatio.* † *Revelando.*

basilica, that I must ask my readers to accompany me in making the circuit of Sta Maria Maggiore, to observe the remains of Pope Eugenius' portico with the lines chiselled in cubital letters on its frieze :

> " Tertius Eugenius Romanus Papa benignus
> Obtulit hoc munus, Virgo Maria, tibi,
> Quæ Mater Christi fieri merito meruisti
> Salva perpetua Virginitate tibi.
> Ea Via, Vita, Salus, totius Gloria Mundi,
> Da veniam culpis Virginitatis Honos."

It is well known how the old has been cased up, and masqueraded, by the new on both fronts of this historic basilica, yet the twelfth century is still discerned in the dusky brick walls and terra-cotta cornices of the tribune. In the midst of its intarsio pavement is a slab of white marble, with the incised figures of two knights armed cap-à-pie on horseback, and their names beside them, Scotus and Joannes Paperone, said to be the donors to this church of that rich inlaid flooring, and to be here portrayed in a work of their period of the century in question ; but a closer examination convinces us of a more recent origin in this instance.

The sacred art remaining from this period indicates a love of magnificence and of elaborate adornment in detail, apparent in the richly-inlaid ambons and cancelli, the ciboria of altars, the above-named pavement, so beautiful in its varieties ; also in the ever-increasing range of symbolism, all which features may be considered as allied with and expressing the same mental tendencies as that development of ritual and church decoration which doubtless continued to be the distinguishing characteristics of Catholic worship, especially in Rome, throughout mediæval periods.

The sense of grace and majesty in ecclesiastical architecture cannot certainly have been wanting to an age that could produce (as they did) such works as the campanili of Sta Maria in Cosmedin, Sta Pudenziana, San Silvestro, Sta Francesca Romana and San Michele. Minor details that are characteristic are seen at San Cæsario on the Appian Way, the chapel of San Silvestro and San Benedetto in Piscinula.

Admirable, too, is the beauty given to the altar canopy (or ciborium) well exemplified at San Clemente, San Giorgio, and the extra-mural San Lorenzo, where that graceful structure has an epigraph with its date, 1148, and the names of the artists. It is interesting also to find evidence as to ritual and the usage still kept up (shown in the metal rods on some of these canopies) of enveloping the altar with curtains to be drawn aside only at certain passages of the Mass—an expression of the sense of unutterable awfulness in sacramental rites, as too sacred to be seen by the people without restriction, and a usage to this day in the Greek, Russian and Armenian worship.

A significant detail that reached its completed form in the twelfth century was the intarsio pavement, for the most part of porphyry, Phrygian purple, veined marble, serpentine and Giallo antico, in many instances but ill-preserved, or wretchedly repaired in tiles, as at Aracœli, San Benedetto in Piscinula, etc., but elsewhere extant in its original and varied richness of rainbow hues, as at Sta Croce, the SS. Coronati, San Crisogono, and the vast basilica at present under review.

Sta Maria Maggiore, one of the five patriarchal Roman basilicas, and called also the Liberian Basilica, from the circumstances already detailed, occupies a commanding

position on the crown of the Esquiline Hill, surrounded by an open square. It is the third in importance of the Roman churches. The original structure of the fourth century is so encrusted by modern classical additions that nothing of its early character is visible externally. The apse was remodelled either late in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth centuries. Giuliano Sangallo added the coffered ceiling to the nave, gilded, it is said, with the first gold brought from South America. Fontana was the architect of the Sistine Chapel, that opening out of the right hand aisle at the altar end (c. 1583), and Flaminio Ponzo that of Paul V., called also the Borghese Chapel, later in the same century. The baptistery was added from the designs of Fuga in 1608, and Giacomo della Porta finished the Chapel of the Sforzas—now the winter choir of the canons —which had been begun by Michael Angelo ; the rear façade was added under Clement X., between 1670-76, by Rainaldi, and the great entrance façade and portico for Benedict XIV. towards the middle of the eighteenth century. With these dates before us we may proceed to examine this basilica, whose whole interior effect, though wonderfully striking from its size and grand proportions, is not quite satisfactory, the detail and ornamentation being almost exclusively Renaissance of the time of Gregory XIII. (c. 1575).

The principal front, before which stands one of the most beautiful Corinthian columns in Rome, called the Colonna della Virgine, from the bronze statue of the Virgin by Bertelot, standing on the half-moon, at the summit,* is

* This column is of white marble, and is the only one which has been preserved to attest the magnificence of the basilica of Constantine, although it probably belonged to an edifice of an earlier period, pos-

a palatial façade in several stories, 250 feet long and 100 feet high, filled with windows and pilasters, and crowned by a level balustrade, in the "confirmed Italian" style of the eighteenth century. From the centre projects, as it were, the front of an ordinary Italian church in two stories—an Ionic order of five bays below, with a horizontal entablature narrowing to three bays above, and of a Corinthian order with arcades, the whole adorned with engaged columns, grouped pilasters, broken pediments and statues. This façade covers the original narthex. Behind, and under it, may still be seen the upper part of the porch of the old church. A many-storied bell-tower, probably of the seventh century, surmounted by a modern square short spire, stands over this end of the right aisle, and from a sufficient distance blends well with the cupolas of the two great lateral chapels which, projecting from the opposite extremities of the aisles, confer an appearance of great breadth to that front of the basilica which faces the Via Cavour. Rising as it does from an imposing flight of steps, Rainaldi's façade is much more interesting than that of Fuga at the opposite extremity. It is quite as palatial, but treated in two stories, with a lofty order of Corinthian pilasters below and a high attic with plainer pilasters above. The great apse of the tribune projects from the middle and causes an agreeable break in the line, while the cupolas over the Sistine and Borghese Chapels help to compose a grandiose if not somewhat divided ensemble.

Gutensohn and Knapp in Bunsen's *Beschreibung der*

sibly to the Temple of Peace founded by Vespasian. It is 47 feet high without the capital and base, which are not proportioned to the size of the column. It was erected here by Paul V. in 1613, under the direction of Carlo Maderno.

Stadt Rom (1830-43) give a view of the interior of Sta Maria Maggiore looking towards the high altar, as restored, in the seventeenth century, but ignoring the two arches which now intercept the glorious Ionic colonnade. The plan of this grand basilica, as given in the book to which I have alluded, has been preserved except for the opening up of this wider intercolumniation on either side the nave near the apse. These wide spaces are spanned by high round arches, destroying the intended repetition of Ionic colonnades, the " calculated monotony " of the equal spaces with equal supports. This disastrous change was brought about merely to produce a more imposing and markedly important entrance, first on the right side, to the newly-built chapel of Pope Sixtus V., and later to the Capella Borghese, directly opposite.

At the time of the " confirmed Italian " the very fine pilasters were set in the clerestory wall, and the deeply-coffered panelled ceiling was hung from the tie-beams of the old roof. Perhaps this has preserved for us the general disposition of the more prosperous early churches ; for the richly-adorned ceiling is alluded to in early records of different basilicas, and moreover, the generally classical character, as of a Roman interior, was helped by such an interior roof.

The nave of Sta Maria Maggiore ranks in size next to St Peter's and St Paul's-without-the-Walls, being over 230 feet in length by 56 in width. It is distinguished for the long lines of its horizontal entablature borne by twenty-one Ionic columns on each side, and is the most imposing of its kind. Its comparatively small height, only about 60 feet, the close spacing of the columns, and the multiplied coffering of the flat ceiling give it scale, and are seconded

by a modern upper order of Corinthian pilasters between the alternate windows and panels of the clerestory. The continuity is broken, however, as I have already described, in the fourth bay from the tribune, where, as appears from the spacing, two of the original columns on either side have been spread apart to make room for the arched passage across the aisles to these Borghese and Sistine chapels, which take the place of transepts. These two chapels are substantially identical in plan, being Greek crosses with arms of small projection about 70 feet across within, the central space covered by domes resting on octagonal drums, and crowned by cupolas with an internal height of 150 feet. The pendentives and vaults of the areas are supported by a single order of Corinthian pilasters, the drums having an order of grouped pilasters with windows between.

The Sistine Chapel was restored about the 'seventies of the last century with rich marbles and gilding, and the pillars are panelled with very beautiful marbles in relief.* The altar is of brass, supported by four angels. In spite of all this richness the effect is hardly satisfactory, and conveys an idea more of pomp and extravagance than good taste. The same may be said of the confessio or chapel of

* Excellent illustrations of these chapels, as well as of others in Sta Maria Maggiore, will be found in Letaronilli's beautiful work, *Rome Moderne*. In the subterranean chapel beneath the altar of the Capella Sistina (or, as it is more strictly called, the Chapel of the Sacrament) is preserved the sacred Culla, which forms the object of a solemn ceremony and procession on Christmas Eve. The Culla consists of five boards of the manger wherein the infant Saviour was deposited at the Nativity ; they are enclosed in an urn of silver and crystal, with a fine gilt figure of the Holy Child on the top. They were removed from Bethlehem at the same time as the remains of St Jerome, in the middle of the seventh century, by Pope Theodorus.

St Matthew under the high altar, which, restored by the munificence of Pius IX., is also one mass of rich marbles. In both the details are more suggestive of a palace than a church, and it is refreshing to turn to the severe mosaics of the Middle Ages in the tribune, and to the grand and stately proportions of the main building, which is certainly one of the finest churches in Rome.

The aisles, of less than half the width of the nave, have modern tunnel vaults, broken by lunettes. The tribune is extended towards the nave by a straight wall tangent to the curve of the apse, whose windows, seen on the inside only, are pointed ones cut in the wall in the thirteenth century. The face of the arch communicating with the tribune is covered with mosaics of great interest in the history of art. They represent in compartments different subjects of the Old and New Testament, illustrating chiefly the lives of the Patriarchs, and are known, by a letter from Adrian I. to Charlemagne, to have been in existence in the eighth century. They are generally considered to date from the pontificate of Sixtus III., whose name is at the summit of the arch.

The mosaics on the apse are undoubtedly the work of that Franciscan artist, Torriti, whose name is here seen with the date 1295 ; and these are so inferior to the mosaics in the same position at the Lateran that one has no hesitation in ascribing them to another hand. The religious sentiment here manifest is precisely identical in respect to one point conspicuous, the worship of the Blessed Virgin, as in the similar art-work at Sta Maria in Trastevere. Mary is here placed on the *same* throne with the Saviour, as, to all appearance, His equal, while in the act of being crowned by Him ; so that the inexperienced observer—

supposing total ignorance of the Church's doctrine—might conclude this group was intended for two co-equal and co-eternal deities, male and female. In the Saviour's hand is an open book, displaying the same text seen at the Trasteverine church, "Veni electa mea et ponam in te thronum meum"; above extends, from a golden cross, a fan-like nimbus, filling the summit of the vault. The ample aureole, like a globe, within which are enthroned the two principal figures, is studded with stars on a blue ground; and below the throne are seen the sun and moon, implying that He, there seated beside His earthly mother, was not only the Redeemer, but Creator of our universe. Laterally are the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, the two St Johns, St Francis and St Antony; also (on a smaller scale), a kneeling pope, Nicholas IV., and the Cardinal Giacomo Colonna, who ordered this work under that Pontiff's reign. At each extremity of the group rises a tree, whose mazily-interwoven branches fill the whole intervening space, and also support several birds known in sacred symbolism, as the peacock, the phœnix and the pelican. Along the archivolt extends the dense foliage of two other trees, with small heads of saints among its branches, and the holy monogram at the keystone; the roots of these trees being set in vases, supported by diminutive nude figures. Other miniature figures, introduced along the foreground, are gracefully designed, and indicate an attempt to blend the Pagan with the Christian; for besides human forms, birds, and animals (intended to convey mystic meanings), and a boat just being launched into a river, we see here a river-god, and a naiad, each leaning on a classic urn.

Another mosaic series, representing the chief scenes in

the life of the Virgin, by Gaddo Gaddi, pertain to a later period. They represent the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation, and the Transit (or funeral) of Mary, whose soul (according to the usual treatment) appears in the form of an infant received into His arms by the visibly present Redeemer.

One of the finest extant monuments of Giovanni Cosmati—one of a family distinguished in successive generations, by whom were maintained, at Rome, the traditions of the so-called Gothic art—is that of Cardinal Consalvi, Bishop of Albano (about 1299). Its composition is analogous, but its whole treatment is greatly superior to the same artist's monument of Durandus, Bishop of Mende, in Sta Maria Sopra Minerva (q.v.).

The statue of the prelate in pontifical vestments is recumbent on a sarcophagus, two angels drawing aside curtains as if to show us the dead. At the background is a mosaic of the Virgin Mary enthroned, with the Child, the Apostle, Matthias, St Jerome, and a smaller kneeling figure of Consalvi, again seen in pontifical robes. At the apex is a species of tabernacle with cusped arch ; below the epitaph the artist's record, " Hoc opus fecit Joannes Magister Cosmæ civis Romanus " ; and in the hands of St Matthias and St Jerome scrolls, each with writing. On the Apostle's is, " Me tenet ara prior " ; on St Jerome's, " Recubo præsepis ad antrum " ; confirmatory of the tradition that the bodies of both repose in this basilica, and indeed indicating the exact sites of their tombs.*

The monument of Consalvi in Sta Maria Maggiore—which, by the way, is described and illustrated in Seroux

* The remains of St Matthias are supposed to be in a sarcophagus which forms the high altar.

d'Agincourt's *Histoire de l'Art*—so far surpasses that of Durandus in the Sopra Minerva church that we might suppose it by a different hand; but in each is gracefully embodied the affecting idea of the guarding of the dead by watchful angels who seem touched by that holy awe that would be the human feeling before the remains of one revered and beloved.

Popular regards have singularly distinguished this beautiful monument of the Pointed Age in Sta Maria Maggiore: as, no doubt, in intended honour to the Blessed Virgin, lamps are ever kept burning, and vases of flowers ranged on the sarcophagus before her mosaic image.

From the mosaics of the fifth century down to the gorgeous chapels and sculptured tombs of Popes Sixtus V. and Paul V., the artistic contents within this superb basilica render Sta Maria Maggiore itself a most precious and significant monument to the mental progress of successive ages.

San Paolo fuori le Mura

Ninety years ago there was no monument at Rome which the lover of early Christian art regarded with more lively interest than this magnificent temple of the first ages of our faith. It was commenced by the Emperors Valentinian II. and Theodosius in A.D. 388 on the site of a more ancient basilica founded by Constantine, over the catacomb of Lucina, a Roman lady who had embraced Christianity, and completed by Honorius in 395. Leo III. restored it in the eighth century, but in all its subsequent alterations the original plan was carefully preserved, being

the only specimen existing in Rome of the great basilicas, similar to what St Peter's must have been before it was replaced by its present magnificent successor; and it was one of the first places to which the Christian traveller endeavoured to perform a pilgrimage. The length of the basilica was 411 feet, of the transepts 279 feet; and the plan, which was parallel cinq-apsidal, embraced a nave 295 feet long with double aisles on either side, measuring 214 feet in width, divided by four rows of Corinthian columns of different kinds of marble, twenty in each, surmounted by a fine openwork roof, formed of immense beams and rafters of pine-wood, without any decoration, as we still see in some of the basilicas of the same period at Ravenna; and the whole building presented an assemblage of columns amounting to no less than 138, most of them ancient, and forming by far the finest collection in the world. Under the high altar was the tomb which the traditions of the Church, from the earliest times, had pointed out as the burial-place of St Paul, whose body, on the same authority, had been removed here from the Vatican in A.D. 251, and enclosed in a stone urn, on which was engraved the name of the great Apostle. The mosaics of the great arch, the bronze gates cast at Constantinople, the series of portraits of the popes, its monuments and altars, all combined to increase the interest of this noble edifice.

All this is now a matter of history, and the building in which Christian worship had been uninterruptedly celebrated for nearly fifteen centuries was reduced to a heap of ruins on the 16th July 1823. The roof took fire during some repairs, and fell into the nave and aisles, where it raged with such fury that the marble columns of the nave were completely calcined, and the large porphyry columns

of the altars, and those which supported the great arch of the central apse, were split into fragments. The only portions which escaped were the western façade with its mosaics of the thirteenth century; a colonnade erected by Benedict XIII.; the apse, and the thirteenth-century mosaics on its conch; some portions of the portraits of the popes; part of the bronze gate; * forty columns of the side aisles; some sarcophagi with bas-reliefs; some chapels eastward of the transepts, and enough of the general shell to have enabled the restorers to revive the ancient appearance of one of the most curious churches in Christendom.

One of the vast enterprises undertaken by Leo XII. was the rebuilding of this great Ostian basilica, consumed by fire while his predecessor, Pius VII., lay on what was to be his death-bed.

"Not a word was spoken to the sick Pontiff on this dreadful calamity. At St Paul's he had lived as a quiet monk, engaged in study and in teaching, and he loved the place with the force of an early attachment. It would have added a mental pang to his bodily sufferings to learn the

* In the *Tavole Chronologiche della Storia della Chiesa*, published at Rome about forty-five years ago, it is stated that several panels of this gate were saved from the fire and are extant; but not where they are still to be seen. It was wrought at Constantinople about 1070, under the superintendence of the Legate of the Holy See, Hildebrand (afterwards Gregory VII.), and ordered for St Paul's by Pantaleone Castelli, whose figure is introduced, with the title, "Roman Consul," among the fifty-four compositions inlaid in outlines of silver thread on the flat panel-surfaces. The principal subjects thus represented were from the lives of Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, besides other conspicuous figures from the Old and New Testament. To judge of these compositions by engravings (such as those in Agincourt's *Histoire de l'Art*) one would say they exhibit to us the last stage of decline; an art enslaved and enfeebled by conventional restraints to the lowest possible degree.

total destruction of that venerable sanctuary in which he had drawn down, by prayer, the blessings of heaven on his youthful labour.

"It was soon discovered that no single portion of the edifice was secure, that not a fragment of wall could be allowed to stand. Many were for merely covering the centre altar and tomb with a moderately-sized church and leaving the ample nave to be a Palmyra in the wilderness. But the Holy Father took a more generous view. In spite of an exhausted treasury, and of evil times, he resolved to begin the work of reconstruction on the original scale of the immense edifice which bore the name, in golden mosaic, of his holy patron, St Leo the Great.

"He appealed, indeed, to the charity of the faithful throughout the world, and he was generously answered. But the sums thus collected scarcely sufficed for preliminary expenses. Those who, like myself, can remember the endless shoring up and supporting of every part of the fire-eaten walls, and the magnificent scaffolding that for strength would have borne an army, and for ease and security of access would not have imperilled a child, can easily imagine what treasures were spent before a stone was laid upon the ground. But, in the meantime, the crow-bar and the mine were dislodging huge masses from the Alpine quarries—the blocks of granite which were to form the monolith shafts of the giant columns for the nave and aisles in all four rows, besides the two, still more colossal, which the Emperor of Austria gave to support the triumphal arch leading to the sanctuary. Each, when shaped on the mountain-side, had to be carried down to the sea, embarked in a vessel of special construction, brought round Sicily into the Tiber, and landed in front

of the church. But what the subscriptions, however generous, did not reach, the munificence of succeeding pontiffs has amply supplied." *

The destruction of the greater part of the fittings, which were a perfect treasury of Church antiquities, was, of course, irreparable; yet enough was preserved—for example the Pointed baldachino—and enough might have been remembered to have in some degree compensated to the Church for the loss of the least-altered basilica in Rome. Most unfortunately, however, very little veneration for the remains of antiquity was felt in Rome at the time when San Paolo fell a prey to the flames. The rebuilding of the Church was entrusted to M. Poletti, whose sole aim seems to have been to distinguish himself by raising a huge Pagan temple in his own variety of the classical style prevalent at the beginning of the last century. We have nothing to thank this architect for, except his retention of the apse and the eastern remains; and perhaps for keeping the general arrangement of five aisles. All the rest of the work deserves unqualified condemnation. The transept was finished, and was reconciled by Pope Gregory XVI. in 1840. It is a vast Pagan room—recalling the hall of Downing College, Cambridge, more than any other building; so bright and airy that the grim mosaics of the apse look quite out of place. The baldachino, which was finished in 1285, was saved and fairly restored. One chapel, eastward of the transept, of some age, but in wretched taste, was also saved, but was not improved by M. Poletti. The external face of the north transept, which is seen first as San Paolo is approached from Rome, was most miserably treated. It does not re-

* Wiseman's *Recollections of the Four Last Popes.*

tain the least solemnity, or even an ecclesiastical character; anywhere but in Italy it might be taken for a railway station. The reparation of the nave proceeded slowly, it being hinted at the time that it was found convenient to prolong the operations, and it was not until 1854 that the basilica assumed its present aspect.

The new columns in the nave are made out of Simplon granite: the capitals are copied from the Pantheon. Segmental arches of brick are turned from column to column and sustain massy walls above. The inner arcades —*i.e.*, those separating the double aisles—have marble arches and a cornice above them. The roofs are of the ordinary Basilican kind, of wood, extremely massy. The nave roof is of that flat, richly-coffered kind in works of the Renaissance period, as for instance in the Badia at Florence and San Romano at Lucca, but which could never have covered any Romanesque church whatever.

Of course the inserted Pointed windows in the aisles have completely disappeared, their successors being a series of round arched ones very deeply splayed, and with a succession of mouldings. Indeed, notwithstanding the beauty and gorgeousness of its ensemble, nothing can be more discouraging than a visit to this basilica. The whole work is revived Italian in feeling. To have treated such a church so was like handling holy things with profanity. M. Poletti's object does not appear to have been to *restore* the basilica in any sense. He raised a completely Italianized (Pagan some may call it) building on the same plan—a worse transformation than any of those sacred churches has undergone since St Peter's. Was there no one in Rome to lift a voice for Christian antiquity? Was Rome to be the last place to feel the revival of reverence? In fact this

recasting of San Paolo is exactly one of those instances in which the vanity of the person employed chafes at the thought of being reduced to the level of a mere copyist In undertakings of this nature the pride of the architect should be to preserve every footstep of antiquity; but, alas! vainglory steps in, and ancient churches are forcibly stamped with the unauthorized inventions of the aspirant to fame. A consistent, unaffected and laudable respect for the magnificent edifices of former ages would naturally lead to the scrupulous preservation of every feature and ornament which time or accident has not defaced or destroyed; and the absence of this feeling, backed by a large share of conceit, would lead to the overthrow of whole members of a design for the recompense of so much hard stone work, garnished with interpolations of modern taste in design and execution.

The architect in this instance, however, has retained the general plan of the old basilica, with its five-aisled nave opening into a vast transept, and the effect of the forest of Corinthian columns, viewed from the north or south-east angles of the nave, is truly magnificent; indeed, I know hardly anything more impressive as a *coup d'œil* in architecture than the double rows of pillars down the immense nave of San Paolo fuori le Mura at Rome.

Two columns, of the Ionic order, more colossal than the rest, support the arch between the transept and the nave, and which in the original church was erected in 440 by Galla Placidia, the sister of the Emperor Honorius. Each of these magnificent pillars are of a single block, from the quarries of Montorfano, near Baveno, on the Lago Maggiore, whence they were conveyed on rafts to

the sea, and from the mouth of the Po to their present site in sailing vessels.

The series of portraits of the popes in mosaic include all those who occupied the Papal Chair from St Peter to the reigning Pontiff; those in the south transept, where the series commences, down to John IV., have been acknowledged as saints by the Church. These portraits, which are continued round the nave and aisles, were executed at the mosaic establishment at the Vatican, each having employed the entire labour of the artist for twelve months. It is needless to add that, except of the later popes, the likenesses are imaginary.

Fortunately, though not, indeed, uninjured, the superb mosaics of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which adorn the apse, besides the beautiful Gothic baldachino, were preserved from the flames of 1823.

There is, in the principal group among those art works, on the conch of the apse, an imposing character, which may lead us to overlook technical defects in the grandeur of conception. This mosaic, begun under Honorius III. (1216-1227) and finished under the care of the Abbot of San Paolo, who became Pope as Nicholas III. in 1279, represents the Saviour, of noble and benign aspect, blessing with the Greek action. In His hand are the Gospels open at the words, "Venite Benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum, Q.V.P.A.O.M." (quod vobis præparavi ab origine mundi). On one side are St Peter and St Andrew, on the other St Paul and St Luke, all holding scrolls with texts: that in the hand of St Peter showing the words, "Tu es Christus, Filius Dei Vivi"; that in St Paul's, "In nomine Jesu omne genu flectetur Cœlestium, Terrestrium, et Infernorum." Below the Saviour's figure

is the kneeling form, so diminutive as to be easily overlooked, of the Pope, Honorius III. (with name inscribed), who kisses His feet. On a species of frieze are seen the other Apostles, in the midst of whom stands a throne supporting a jewelled cross, and the instruments of the Passion, guarded by two arch-angels, each Apostle holding a scroll inscribed with a sentence from the angelic hymn, "Gloria in Excelsis." Beneath the throne are smaller kneeling figures of an abbot with name written, Joannes Gaetani, and a monk; between them five of the Holy Innocents, vested like friars, here introduced because their relics are said to have been enshrined in this church. Unfortunately, in the restoration of the basilica, the last-named group, diminutive in scale, was completely hidden by an inappropriate marble ædicula with Corinthian columns and chiselled frieze, now rising above the splendid marble throne (a modern object) at the centre of the hemicycle. But the former condition was worse, for almost the whole lower compartment of mosaics on this apse was concealed behind a clumsy wooden construction above an altar.

The mosaics, lateral to this apse, and to the chancel arch opposite, are of the fourteenth century.* In those of the fifth century, above the same arch, on the side towards the nave, we undoubtedly see the very works alluded to by Hadrian I. in his letter to Charlemagne against the Iconoclasts. They are also noticed by Prudentius, when describing the splendours of the Theodosian basilica, in his "Peristephanon" (hymn xii.):—

> "Tum camurus hyalo insigni varie concurrit arcus,
> Sic prata vernis floribus renident."

In the lofty clerestory of the nave is a series of round-

* *See* p. 128.

headed windows between Corinthian pilasters, alternating with paintings. The windows are filled with coloured glass in blue and yellow, arranged in vertical compartments, the former colour being relieved with a floral pattern; but a central figure is wanted to relieve the monotony, as well as to tone down the present superabundance of light.

The aisles seem to have been furnished with painted glass, nearly all of which has been broken, whether by design or accident I am unable to say. It appeared to be of very poor and thin quality and to have represented full-length figures; the borders and some small portions of the effigies alone remain; the tones, however, seemed very good. The reveals of the aisle windows are so deep that there is an outer plane of white glass. In the north aisle a commencement of glass in the most modern style has been made. One of these windows has a figure of St Gregory, surrounded by patterns in blue and grey. At the feet of the Pontiff the Evangelistic symbols are represented in four square medallions. In another window is the figure of a cherub, standing and holding an open book. It appears to form part of a group, the lower half of a figure in an alb and green chasuble forming a background to the cherub. Of Italian proficiency in this art at the present day I suppose these windows may be taken as representative specimens.

The Gothic ciborium, supported on four columns of porphyry, with cusped arches between, was ordered, as the inscription on it shows, by an Abbot Bartolommeo, in 1285, and is the work of Arnolfo, with an assistant named Pietro.

The former is stated by Vasari to be no other than the

celebrated architect of Florence Cathedral, who may have supplied the design but could not have executed the work, as he is known to have been engaged in Florence throughout the year in question. It seems probable that such Gothic types were due to stranger importation in a city never noted for the original production of them. At the angles of the canopy are statuettes of SS. Peter and Paul, with keys and sword; of another apostle (or St Benedict) with a scroll, and an abbot, no doubt meant for the same Bartolommeo. On the spandrels are reliefs of an abbot kneeling with a Gothic model (intended no doubt for this very altar), which he presents to St Paul, a figure in the spandrel on the opposite side of the arch. Then there are Adam and Eve after the Fall, with the Deity appearing to them within a nimbus; Cain and Abel with their offerings—a hand, to indicate the favour of the Deity, being seen above the head of Abel; also two crowned kings (David and Solomon), each with a scroll.

The following quaint lines are inscribed on a tablet above the arch fronting the nave :—

> " Anno milleno centum bis et octuageno
> Quinto summe Deus.
> quibus hic Abbas Bartolomeus,
> Fecit opus fieri
> sibi tu dignare mereri,"

the names of the artist and his assistant being read on tablets at other sides.

In the rich adornment bestowed on this beautiful ciborium no part even of the interior has been forgotten. On its vault are cherub-heads; on its marble panels inlaid figures of stags and peacocks; at the angles, adoring angels, with censers and holy water.

One of the most interesting examples of the art of the twelfth century in Rome is the marble candelabrum at San Paolo for that paschal taper, the lighting and blessing of which are associated with one of the most poetic formulas in the entire Latin Ritual and with the splendid ceremonial of Holy Saturday. It now stands near the high altar in the transept, after having been long kept in the atrium, and for a time in the Christian Museum of the Lateran. Its shaft (nearly 22 palms high) is divided by astragals into eight cylindrical compartments of bas-reliefs, two adorned with foliage and wreaths, two others with figures of fantastic animals and arabesques, three with sacred historical groups, and the broader basement with most curious reliefs of monstrous creatures, whose heads are alternately human and bestial—those of women, lions or rams—female figures being seated between each pair of these nondescript animals. On the central compartment are low reliefs of the most solemn acts in the story of the Passion, the Resurrection and the Ascension; the Crucifixion, treated in a most singular manner, with the principal figure vested in a long tunic, and the two thieves bound on their crosses, diminutive in proportion to the others. In the Resurrection the Saviour stands on a half-open sarcophagus, holding in one hand a long cross, in the other a disc with a cruciform impress, like the consecrated Eucharist. The two artists of this sculpture, Nicholas de Angelis and Peter Fasso de Tito, have left their names in a Latin epigraph round one of the astragals, besides another long and quaint inscription referring to the mystic meanings of the taper blessed on the Vigil of Easter. Nicholas is known to have been the son of that Angelo who, together with his three sons, prepared the

beautiful altar canopy at San Lorenzo; and it was about the middle of the twelfth century that the two artists flourished whose work we now see at San Paolo. When we compare the Crucifixion scene, as treated by these sculptors, with what the same subject becomes in the hands of great masters between three and four centuries later, we are possessed by a wondering sense of irrepressible (may we not say Heaven-directed?) progress, as well in imaginative power and technical skill as in religious conceptions; a contrast that seems itself to typify the course of that civilization to which the Cross itself is the guide and standard.

The ancient basilica of San Paolo suffered much from earthquake in 801, and, on that occasion, probably lost the ceiling covered with gilt-bronze plates of which Prudentius speaks: "Subdidit et parias fulvis laquearibus columnas." This roof was afterwards replaced by bare rafters without any ornamentation; and finally (in the restoration after the fire of 1823) by the flat ceiling of coffered wood-work, profusely gilt, which certainly was *not* seen in the primitive Roman basilicas. Even before the restoration of San Paolo in the last century the antique had lost much of its pure mediæval character. Sixtus V. removed the inlaid marble ambons and altar-screens that projected from the sanctuary into the nave; and also the subsequently-added screen, which, with its twenty columns of porphyry, divided the apse from the transepts, forming another choir, different in plan from the original one. At the same time the marble chamber, with stairs leading from the tribune to the crypt below the high altar—a work of great magnificence, due to Leo IV.—was filled up.

In 1348 the *paradisus*, or portico, with massive colon-

nades surrounding a quadrangle in front of the basilica, was destroyed by an earthquake. The inner arcade, corresponding to the façade, however escaped, and five columns on the opposite site, near the Tiber shore, were left standing till about the middle of the seventeenth century; but the whole was finally replaced by an ill-designed and ponderous portico in the modern style in 1725.

The restored San Paolo of to-day, with all its blaze of splendour, and much as we must admire the stately effect of its quadruple colonnades of Corinthian columns, is a monument of the decline of sacred architecture, evincing the total incapacity of the Rome of the first half of the nineteenth century to restore either the creations or the spirit of mediæval Catholicism. I might dwell upon one among many sufficient proofs of this deterioration, in the anomaly of the immense baldachino on giant columns of Oriental alabaster in the modern Italian style, *surmounting* the smaller but far more finely artistic structure of the thirteenth century over that high altar—both, indeed, rich and beautiful, but in their juxtaposition most unsuitably contrasted and mutually destroying each other! Perhaps, in such infelicitous contrivance of *two* canopies to the same altar, the architects never thought of the *other* contrast they were suggesting, namely, between the ritual significance of the older and later structures; for the antique, so much smaller than the modern, could not have sufficed for the dazzling illuminations of "Benediction" as now ordered; and it becomes evident to the inquirer that the ascendency given to the idea of the Sacrifice above that of the Sacrament, and to the spectacular above the congregational worship of communicants round the Holy Table, has led to the gradual altera-

tion of essential parts even in the sacred edifice. Proofs and results of this change might be cited in the fourteenth-century canopy at San Giovanni Laterano, forming a shrine for relics above the high altar, and much ampler than those of earlier date; the still larger one raised by Benedict XIV. at Sta Maria Maggiore, and the largest and loftiest of all placed by Urban VIII. over the high altar of St Peter's.

The cloisters of San Paolo, similar in beauty and style to those of the Lateran Basilica, present one of the most exquisite examples of Roman-mediæval work. Begun by the abbot, Peter of Capua, who held office here from 1193 to 1208, they were completed by his successor, John V., abbot from 1208 to 1241.* Nothing could be more graceful than the fairy shafts of the coupled colonnettes, various in form, spiral, fluted, and mosaic-inlaid, that carry the arches whose narrow space corresponds to the slightness of those delicate supports; nothing more richly fantastic than the cornices and bands of mosaic frieze carried above. It is through the multiplicity of parts small in scale, and the fine harmony preserved amidst such great variety, that so striking an effect is attained.

Anastasius speaks of several monasteries, for religious of both sexes, that clustered around the ancient San Paolo, as formerly round St Peter's, and the same writer mentions a general repair of these buildings by Gregory III. about 716. Before the Benedictine restoration in the tenth century we read that the establishment of that order had been left almost deserted and its buildings in

* The chronology of the abbots of San Paolo (from 936 to 1453) is given from a Vatican MS. in the interesting work on this basilica by Mgr. Nicolai.

incipient ruin. The cloisters, perhaps the finest and best-preserved of these appendages, greatly resemble those of the Lateran, and are in all probability by the same architect and in progress about the same time—the second decade of the thirteenth century. The four walks enclose a rectangle about 70 feet by 80 feet, with arcades supported on coupled shafts, now plain, now twisted, now mosaic inlaid. Those arcades, built upon a continuous stylobate, are grouped in fours between heavy pilasters, and their transversely-coupled shafts carry a complete entablature. The forms and details are mostly Classic, but the composition and proportions are by no means so; the entablature is very heavy, and the columns are slight, with thick abaci of mediæval proportion; and the high frieze is richly inlaid throughout with elaborate mosaic in interlacing bands. The architrave bears a continuous inscription in rhymed hexameters to the effect that these appendages were begun by Peter of Capua, afterwards Cardinal, and finished by John of Ardea.

The actual monastery, a plain, gloomy-looking pile, with no one feature of architectural interest, except in these beautiful cloisters, escaped almost unhurt from the fire of 1823. The riband of the Garter, and the well-known motto introduced into the shield of this abbey, whose device is a hand grasping a sword, seen in different parts of the building, remind us that San Paolo was under the patronage of the Kings of England before the Reformation.

On the occasion of the fire in 1823 the series of mosaics on the façade of the basilica were fortunately saved, to be transferred, in the renovated church, to the spandrels of the apse, and the chancel-arch on the side of the transepts,

where these mosaic groups of the fourteenth century are now disposed on opposite walls.

They are among the few embellishments added to any church in Rome during the Papal residence at Avignon, having been ordered, or rather suggested, by Pope John XXII., in a brief addressed to the Abbot of San Paolo, enjoining on him to have such works executed; the artist being Pietro Cavallini, who was much engaged in Roman churches during this century. The subjects are the Blessed Virgin on a throne; St John the Baptist with a lamb, presenting the Pope, John XXII., who kneels to the Madonna; St Peter and St Paul, each standing before a throne, as just risen. The majesty of the apostolic figure is striking, and the sword is here the attribute of St Paul, in one of the earliest instances, as henceforth generally adopted. In St Mary's aspect a return to the ancient type —matronly and severe—so different from that in later art is apparent. The four emblems of the Evangelists are also introduced laterally to a finely benignant head, or rather protome, of the Saviour, within a circle, supported by angels; the most remarkable character in these works being the freedom of treatment that announces a new phase in art, and is at once recognizable on comparing them with the earlier mosaics in the same church. Some frescoes in the now deserted chapter-house are of the same century, but probably in most parts retouched; their subjects, a Crucifixion, with numerous figures (among others St Peter and St Paul), and, according to primitive ideas, the sun and moon introduced above the cross; a softly-marked, almost feminine aspect being given to the Divine Sufferer. Beside these are six apostles and other saints, male and female, with names inscribed; and on the

opposite wall a half-length of St Benedict; also, represented near the latter figure, the Four Emblems, paintings in no way entitled to high rank among those of the same period.

If, as compared with the contemporary produce of other Italian states, the art of painting must be considered of but inferior attainment in the Rome of the fourteenth century, still lower is the place assignable to the sculpture of the same date and at the same centre. We find proof of this in the great Ostian basilica now under consideration, in those beautiful cloisters of the thirteenth century (already alluded to) where is placed, unhonoured and obscure, a mutilated statue of Pope Boniface IX., clumsy and ill-proportioned, seated on a throne, and holding a book open at the words, " Dominus Bonifacius IX., P. Max. stirpe Thomacellarius genere Cibi "*—a vain record of family pride, the substitution of which, for the Gospel text invariably seen on the open book held by ecclesiastical personages in earlier art groups, itself denotes a decline in religious feeling; here manifest also in such detail as the heraldic crest, instead of some sacred symbol, on the morse of the pontifical cope in which this figure is vested.

One leaves the sumptuously-renovated Ostian basilica with some favourable but other very unfavourable impressions of art in Rome during the age when its achievements were so much more exalted in other Italian, as well as Northern, cities.

San Lorenzo fuori le Mura

The history of the basilica of San Lorenzo is singular and complicated. It appears that two churches, both

* The name of this Pope (1389-94) was Pietro Tomacelli.

beautiful and famous from ancient time, existed anterior to the buildings of Honorius III., who added the present nave and aisles, and the portico with columns under a heavy penthouse roof. One of these churches is at least as ancient as the fifth century, when it was enriched by donations from Pope Hilary; and the other is mentioned as already well known in the eighth century by Anastasius, telling us that Hadrian II. constructed the *major* basilica to which it was annexed. The church ascribed to Pelagius II., and in which the body of St Laurence was laid, appears, from early evidence, to have been a still older building, only renewed and amplified by that Pope in the sixth century, and afterwards styled *speciosior*, on account of the splendour with which Pelagius invested it.

To that "major" basilica, ascribed to Hadrian I., pertains the great "arch of triumph" (adorned on its side facing the eastern limb with mosaics of the sixth century) which, having terminated the nave of the primitive church, finally became an intervening member between that compartment and the presbyterium, when the whole earlier structure was converted into the choir of a much larger basilica, under Honorius III., about 1216. Ciampini in his *De Sacris Ædificiis* supposes that the entire presbyterium, with its two stories of classic colonnades, marble throne and intarsio pavement, may be ascribed to Hadrian I., his renovation, viz., of Pelagius' church; and that the former Pope first effected the change by which this basilica was reversed in plan, so that the sanctuary became eastern, the chief portal western, the opposite having been its original disposal.

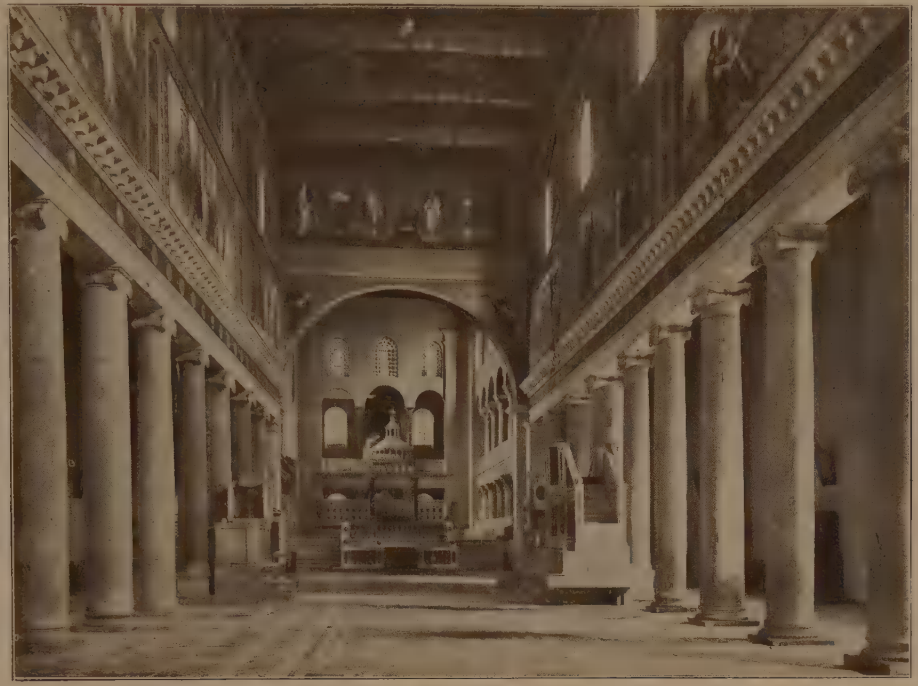
We enter San Lorenzo at the west end by a broad vestibule or loggia, extending along the whole west front,

and covered with a lean-to roof, which is supported by diverse antique columns under an entablature.

Three square-headed doors admit thence into the nave and aisles, which are divided from each other by eleven columns with Ionic capitals supporting an entablature.* Upon this rests the clerestory wall, built above very flat, constructive arches, springing from column to column above the entablature and not distinguished by any decorative members. Each clerestory wall is pierced with twelve round-headed windows of two plain orders; and three similar ones light the west end, above the external vestibule.

The roof over the nave is a low gabled one, with very numerous and massy tie-beams temperately polychromed. Lean-to open roofs cover the aisles, the southern one being spanned by one transverse arch. The floor of the nave at the eastern end, about a quarter of the whole length, is raised one step above the western level and the aisles. This formed the *chorus cantorum*, but all the screens have disappeared, leaving, however, an ambon on each side, at the distance of four columns from the arch of triumph. The Gospel ambon stands on the south side and faces northward, the paschal candelabrum standing at the north-east corner. It has two flights of steps ascending from east to west respectively, and also a third flight of steps in front, leading down to the nave from the foot of those at the east side; there was probably at one time a corresponding number in front at the west side also.

* Sixteen of these twenty-two columns are of Egyptian and grey Corsican or Sardinian granite, the remainder of cipollino. The granite columns are of different dimensions; some, short and stumpy, belonged evidently to a Doric edifice.



ROME : INTERIOR OF SAN LORENZO FUORI LE MURA.

The decoration of this white marble Gospel ambon at San Lorenzo is extremely beautiful, large squares and circles of dark-red and dark-green marble bordered with mosaic affording a striking contrast. The Epistle ambon stands opposite on the north side of the nave, and its desk is turned eastwards towards the altar. It has two flights of steps; the first, consisting of four, ascends from the nave northwards, and then turning eastwards leads up to the desk.

The wall between the colonnades and the clerestory on either side has been enriched in modern times by frescoes from the brush of Fracassini illustrating scenes from the histories of St Stephen and St Laurence; while on the wall space above the arch of triumph is a similar work, of the greatest purity and beauty, representing the Blessed Virgin enthroned between standing figures of two archangels, SS. Laurence, Stephen, Justinus and Ciriaca, the matron to whom this site, known as "Campus Veranus," belonged, and whose catacombs were opened in a primitive period, before the building of the church.

The colouring of the hitherto bare rafters under a triangular roof was considered a novelty at the time of these restorations at San Lorenzo, but this was in accordance with ancient types; also the tinting of the round-arched choir windows in a commonplace geometric pattern—modern glass painting, in fact, being an art which until comparatively recent years has never been carried to perfection in Italy.

It was the restoration of the primitive crypt to its original state, and the disencumbering of the sepulchral chapel under the high altar, that constituted what was most praiseworthy in the works finished about 1866.

These were carried out, under the architect Vespignani, in better style than many such works to which the churches of Rome have been subjected in recent times, though not, it must be admitted, without prejudice to some olden features. The proceeding that sacrificed a lateral porch with columns and mosaic decoration was, to use the mildest expression, Vandalic. But this sort of thing has been going on for years all over Italy, as witness the almost entire removal of the old cathedral at Novara.

This porch at San Lorenzo was one of those beautiful thirteenth-century works due to the Cosmati family, and on its destruction it gave place to a new sacristy! Nor is the filling up of the narrow-arched windows to be commended, and the opening of others much wider, though similar in form, along the lateral walls. Another novelty, equally regrettable, is the complete repainting of the curious frescoes, now entirely renewed, on the walls of the atrium. A frieze carried above the Ionic arcade of this portico is adorned with small mosaics, comprising heads within circles of St Laurence, Honorius III., two females, identified by Ciampini as Sta Cyrilla and her mother, Tryphonia, of the time of that Pope Honorius, and only noticeable as indicating the deep decline of art in this sphere.

The modern works, now most striking in the external view of San Lorenzo, is the painting above the portico, in fresco, imitating mosaic by Caponari, a pupil of Podesti, representing the Emperor Constantine and the popes, Honorius III., Pius IX., Sixtus III., and Hadrian I., the first two holding small models of this church; and above, on a frieze, half-lengths of the Saviour, St Stephen, St Laurence and four other saints.

To return to the interior of San Lorenzo. The choir is older than the nave, and much more remarkable. It is rectangular, and has no apse. On each of the longer sides are five graceful Corinthian fluted columns of *pavonazzetto* or violet, and two of white marble—spoils no doubt from Classic antiquity—and still in their place, connecting the upper with the lower level. They were buried half the length of their shafts below the present pavement until 1821, when they were partially laid bare to the pedestals; they are now entirely so. Ten of them have Corinthian, and two, which are shorter, richly-sculptured capitals ornamented with military trophies. The entablature is also formed of fragments of ancient sculptures, among which friezes and other ornaments may be recognized. The bases of the columns just alluded to are very many feet lower than the floor of the choir, and stand as if in a deep well, between the raised platforms of the choir and its aisles. The choir is bounded on each side by a stone seat with a low stone back. Looking over the back of this bench table, and gazing down into the narrow pit containing the stairs to the confessionary, the full height of these columns can be seen. The choir floor being thus raised, there is an arcade of six arches, rising from diverse antique columns of small size above the entablature of the Corinthian colonnade just described. These arcades, as well as the lower order of columns, are returned across the square east end, and look like a gallery or triforium, but are not so, being merely an expedient to gain height, an arrangement comparable with those adumbrations of the Romanesque triforia still existing in Sta Agnese and the Quattro Incoronati. Above these arcades are some clerestory windows filled with crudely-patterned stained

glass, while that which fills the two windows lighting the gallery across the east end is worthy of a " Commissioners' Church " built in England during the reign of George IV. Painted glass of an appropriate character would greatly remedy what is at present a great eyesore to the interior of this noble basilica. The central arch of the eastern triplet of arcades is occupied by the organ, whose case is a very poor one in pseudo-Gothic. There was formerly a late and gaudy flat roof over this part of the church. The present one, a production, it is presumed, of the original, is like that over the nave, but still left undecorated. Architects in search of a " motif " for a galleried church in the Classical style would do well to adopt this choir of San Lorenzo, with perhaps some modifications. For a town church, where the ground space is limited, ample accommodation could be legitimately secured by such a series of upper arcades as those I have described in this basilica ; or, if the church were copied *in toto*, the San Lorenzo arrangement would serve admirably for the *chorus*, leaving the whole area of the eastern limb for the sanctuary.

On the wall above the arch of triumph, facing the high altar, is a curious mosaic representing Our Lord and SS. Peter, Paul, Stephen, Laurence, Hippolitus and Pope Pelagius II., himself offering his church, with his name (Pelagius Epis) and the holy cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem on each side, above which are two of the original windows of the basilica, formed of slabs of marble, in which were inserted circular panes of translucid alabaster, by which a dim light was admitted, now replaced by opaque glass of very questionable character. This part of the earlier edifice faced originally the entrance of the

church from the east, as we see in all the Christian basilicas where they have been left as primitively erected. It dates from the construction of Pope Pelagius in the sixth century. During the restorations of half a century ago, the spaces between the windows were found to be decorated with paintings of angels and saints in the style of the twelfth century; they had been whitewashed over and were much defaced. Over the archivolt, on this side of the chancel arch, are now read the last two lines alone of a metrical inscription, recording the later works, and which may be thus Englished:

"Once a Levite, thou didst endure martyrdom in the flames; justly, therefore, is venerable lustre restored to thy temple."*

Another metrical epitaph, which has disappeared, but also found in Gruter, mentions a restoration by Galla Placidia at the request of St Leo I.; its first lines being identical with those still read over the chancel arch at San Paolo fuori le Mura:

"Gaudet Pontificis studio splendere Leonis
Placidiæ pia mens operis decus omne pater(ni)";

and a modern writer, Fabio Gori, in his *Porta e Basilica di S. Lorenzo*, ingeniously sustains that the sense of the two other lines in this verse,

"Angustos aditus venerabile corpus habebat,
Hunc, ubi nunc populum largior aura capit,"

may imply, not (as others assume) that the declivity behind the basilica had been cut away in order to enlarge its plan, but that the whole was sunk to a lower level and raised on new foundations, in the fifth century, so as to

* This inscription is given in full by Gruter.

include the tomb of St Laurence, which previously had been accessible only by descent into the catacombs below this church.

In the course of time, though at what period is uncertain, the crypt became in the greater part filled with soil, and the tomb chapel consequently inaccessible save on one side—that where stands the altar. At the east end, in the centre of a low wall of mosaic, with panels of red and green porphyry, is an ancient episcopal chair with good torso columns in mosaic on either side. Westward of this stands the high altar, surmounted by a square baldachino, whose entablature is supported by four porphyry columns. Over this are rows of small columns bearing an octagonal cupola. The following legend is inscribed upon the baldachino : "✠ Iohs Petrus Angls et Sasso filii Pauli marmor. huj^{s} opis magistri fuere." There is in the choir a slab of marble, pierced with holes, and stained (as is believed) by the blood of St Laurence, who was laid thereupon after his martyrdom, the scene of which is now marked by the church of San Lorenzo in Pane Perna, on the summit of the Viminal Hill, within the city.

A rich mosaic pavement covers the area of this church ; indeed, at San Lorenzo, as in many another Italian church, we are treading upon nothing but what is costly.

Let us now descend into the ancient crypt. Here we may enter the isolated chapel where the two martyrs—Stephen and Laurence—repose in an enormous sarcophagus of Phrygian veined marble, around which extends a graceful Ionic colonnade, forming three aisles. There is a solemn simplicity in this semi-subterranean architecture, and the dim light is in accordance with its quiet, pure character. Beyond this we pass into a transverse nave,

with a small altar at each end, and three vaulted niches, two of which contain frescoes brought to light in the works of restoration prosecuted in the middle of the last century, curiously archaic, and supposed to be of the tenth century.

I allude in my description of San Clemente to the deep decline of pictorial art in Rome at that period. This is apparent at San Lorenzo in these paintings. Each series represents the Blessed Virgin amidst several saints, male and female, with their names inscribed, who all carry either crowns or caskets, a large jewelled cross being painted on the vault above in both niches. The two principal figures, as contrasted together, mark the transition in treatment of a favourite subject, and alike display the lowest conditions of fallen art. On one hand the Madonna appears, as in primitive art, matronly, veiled and simply clad ; on the other, as quite youthful, crowned and in gorgeous attire : on one hand, in attitude of prayer and standing alone ; on the other, seated with the Child in her lap. Between these two types lies the ideal of the great Italian masters, who retain the loveliness but reject the finery.

In this solemn subterranean church one reads : " Hoc sub fornice tumulata jacent corpora SS. Stephani Prot. Laurentii Diac. et Justini Presb. et Mart." The tomb is guarded by a grille, and an altar stands before it. On the walls are set some ancient epigraphs, discovered at the same time in fragments, and restored so as to be easily read.

A community of Capuchins were placed by Pius IX. in the cloisters long previously deserted ; and among the renewed celebrations at San Lorenzo I shall remember one I attended in the soft golden light of a November

afternoon, when the sacred interior was lighted by numerous tapers on altars and in chandeliers pendent between the antique columns. No paltry decorations marred the effects of architecture; a plain, deep-toned Litany, that of "All Saints," accompanied by subdued strains from an organ, being heard during the Exposition of the Host, the whole rite harmonious with the character of the fine old edifice, and suited to inspire holy meditations in such a scene.

There is only one ground on which the Church of Rome may properly be styled Catholic. Its claim to pre-eminent authority is altogether visionary; its boasted unity falls to nothing when properly investigated; its pretended doctrinal certainty does not exist. But it is Catholic in this—and in this only—that by the exercise of the very perfection of worldly wisdom it has been able to apply every power and faculty of man, every superstition and imagination, every passion, prejudice and fear, to its own account and purpose. It has imprinted the character of its system upon them all; it has applied them all to the maintenance of its wonderful and comprehensive scheme. This kind of Catholicism is particularly obvious in the legends attached to the frescoes in the atrium of San Lorenzo, and if we regard art as an illustration of the story of the mind, we cannot pass these works unnoticed. Classed among productions of the Græco-Italian school in Rome, and either of the period of Honorius III., or but little later in the thirteenth century, they are replete with meaning and fraught with the spirit of the past. We may begin with those on the right as we enter. A holy hermit was at prayer one night in his cell, when strange noises, like the shouts and tramp of horsemen passing in

tumultuous haste, aroused him to ask, leaning out of his window, who thus disturbed his meditations? "We are demons," was the answer; "the Emperor Henry has just expired and we are bent on the object of taking possession of his soul." "I conjure thee," said the hermit, "to appear again to me on your return, and announce how you have fared in this serious undertaking." The promise being given, that phantom troop swept by; but the night had not waned ere similar noises were heard by the hermit, accompanied this time with a sound of violent knocking at the door. "Now tell me," asked the holy man, "how has it fared with the emperor?" "Desperately ill," replied the same demon, speaking from his point of view. "We came just in time; the emperor had that moment expired, and we began to assert our claims, when his good angel appeared, bent on saving him. Our contention was long, but at last the angel laid the good and evil deeds of Henry together in a balance, after which, for a time, to our great joy, we saw that on our side the scale sank visibly to the ground, but all at once up came that roasted fellow (thus did the demon designate St Laurence), with a heavy golden pot in his hand, which he threw into the opposite scale, so that the other was made to kick the beam. We were thus forced to depart in shame and confusion, and I could only vent my rage on the golden pot, one handle of which I broke off." After this discourse the demon troop departed; and the hermit scarcely waited till morning to start for the nearest town, where the emperor had passed his last days. On arriving he learnt that Henry II. had expired precisely at the hour of the first apparition before his cell, and that a gold chalice, presented by Henry to the Church

of St Laurence in that town, had been found to have unaccountably lost one of its handles.

This legend is represented in all its acts. We see the emperor offering a chalice to a priest before an altar; again, seated at a banquet with a company of pilgrims; giving orders to troops, as about to march for battle; again, in totally different circumstances, do we see the emperor laid in death on a bier amidst funeral solemnities; next follow the supernatural details after his decease, a group of demons contending with a single angel, whilst a little imp endeavours to trip that celestial antagonist, who weighs the good and evil deeds in a balance, on one side being written the words, "Opera bona quæ fecit," on the other, "Opera mala quæ fecit"; in the next scene the better cause triumphs through St Laurence's interposition with the chalice in hand; and again do we see the demons passing through a wild mountain region before the cell of the hermit.* On the left are frescoes illustrating another legend. About the year 1062 there lived in the San Lorenzo monastery a pious sacristan, who used to rise long before matins every day in order to pray at the altar. While thus engaged one morning before light, he beheld three persons, vested as a priest, deacon and sub-deacon, passing through the aisle slowly and silently up to the high altar, where solemn Mass was celebrated by the priest, a man of lofty stature and venerable

* Henry II., far from leaving a guilt-stained memory, was a canonized saint. Many of those grand Romanesque churches we see in Germany were founded by him. He died in 1024, and about a century later he was exalted to the honours of the altar by Eugenius III. He had desired to abdicate and enter the cloister, but was dissuaded by the sensible exhortations of an abbot; and finally, it is said, made a vow of chastity, being a married man at the time. A somewhat different version of this legend is given by Baronius, A.D. 1056.

aspect, the others attending with most devout recollectedness. After gazing in awe-struck wonder on that scene, the sacristan approached him who had acted as deacon, and inquired as to those mysterious personages. "He whom thou seest vested as a priest" (was the answer), "is the Apostle St Peter; I am Laurence, who, on Wednesday in such a year, the day that our Lord Jesus Christ was betrayed and condemned to death, did suffer such great torments for love of Him; and in commemoration of my martyrdom have we all come this morning to celebrate the rites thou hast witnessed; the sub-deacon is the protomartyr, Stephen; the ministers are apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, who have desired to do honour to me at this time in remembrance of my martyrdom; and in order that this solemnity, rendering such honours to me, may be known throughout the world, I have desired thou shouldst be witness. When it is day thou wilt present thyself to the Pope, and enjoin on him, in my name, to repair to this church with his clergy, here to celebrate Mass, and grant to the faithful such perpetual indulgences as he may deem fit." "How will they believe in my words unless I give some sign of this vision?" asked the sacristan: on which the saint took the cincture he was girt with, and bade him show it as a sure testimony that these things were true. The abbot, being informed of this apparition, and aware that it had been vouchsafed by a holy man, went with all his monks to the pontiff, Alexander II., in order to report what had been seen and heard. After taking counsel of his cardinals, the Pope set out with a procession to this church for the enjoined observances. On the way the procession met a funeral train, and in order to test the virtues of the cincture given by St

Laurence, the holy father laid it on the body borne for burial, which, so soon as touched by it, became immediately reanimated. Having celebrated Mass, the pontiff conceded an indulgence of forty years to all who, penitent and confessed, should visit either this or any other church dedicated to St Laurence every Wednesday in the year.

In the frescoes in the same atrium we see a complete illustration of this legend : the sacristan in white monastic habit kneeling before the phantom company on their way to the high altar ; the apostles and martyrs in their sacred vestments, advancing amidst worshippers to perform that midnight Mass ; the white-robed monks on their way to the papal palace ; their audience of the Pope, to whom they tell the story, kneeling before him ; the pontiff conferring with the cardinals ; the procession to San Lorenzo met by the funeral, and the resuscitation of the dead man by means of the cincture ; lastly, the papal mass, with a vision of souls in purgatory, above whom hovers one of those spirits set free by virtue of the Eucharistic sacrifice.

The primitive belief in this story, at least the fidelity to observances founded upon it, is still manifest in the pious practice of visiting this basilica on Wednesday mornings, whatever be the season, to attend the masses for the dead, celebrated before sunrise in a crypt chapel reached from the northern aisle.

The other frescoes in the walls of the atrium illustrate the translation of the relics of St Stephen, originally brought from Jerusalem to Constantinople by the Empress Eudoxia in 439 ; and, about a hundred and twenty years later, obtained by a papal legate for Rome.

Legends state that when the body of the first martyr was laid here beside that of St Laurence, the latter moved to one side, giving place to so venerable a companion in death ; also that when the shrine was opened during the progress of the buildings under Pelagius II., by workmen who came upon the precise spot, long forgotten, all were punished for the unconscious sacrilege by death within three days following, though none had dared even to look upon the relics of those martyrs. But in the *Legende del Secolo XIV.* is another version of the story. The Empress Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III., being tormented by a devil, her father, Theodosius II., sent for her to Constantinople, that she might be healed by touching the relics of St Stephen.

The demon announced that he would not leave her unless St Stephen himself came to Rome, and it was consequently agreed that exchange should be made between the relics of St Laurence at one city and those of St Stephen at the other. The body of the latter having reached Rome, the demon was cast out of the empress, and the Greek emissaries were proceeding to remove the body of St Laurence when they all fell down as dead ; after some hours, however, they were restored through the prayers of Pope Pelagius and the Roman clergy, but all died *de facto* within ten days ; and all the Romans who had counselled the exchange were struck with frenzy, only to recover after the two martyrs had been quietly laid under the altar of this basilica in the marble sarcophagus, where they still repose in its restored crypt.

If we allow (which is a good deal) that such stories were no more proposed as subjects for literal belief than the Parables of Our Lord, or the *Pilgrim's Progress*, we must

insist that very different indeed was intended to be the reception of the marvellous personal and miraculous adventures which were interwoven with the history of the saints themselves. These were accepted, and were designed to be accepted, as facts in hagiography, no less to be believed than the miraculous incidents in the life of Our Saviour. It is upon the foundation of these legendary marvels that much of the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome, especially that large portion of it, the worship of the Virgin, has been principally built. Her assumption, coronation and other similar current articles in the popular faith, are all founded on legendary lore. So also the multiplied parodies or repetitions in saintly biographies of the actual miracles of the Saviour; for example, the feeding of vast numbers with inadequate supplies of provision, the raising of the dead, the walking on the water, the conversion of one substance into another, as water into wine, etc.—all these were intended to be believed, and were believed, just as entirely as the original miracles of which they were the copies. So again the multitudes of legendary miracles, which were founded upon the literal rendering of the words of Scripture (the great rock on which the Church of Rome has made shipwreck of common sense and truth), were just as much believed as the similarly-founded miracle of transubstantiation. Such miracles as the story of St Antony of Padua and the miser's heart, St Francis and the stigmata, seem to have been propounded to serious belief, and there is no doubt that they were, and in some places still are, believed, and taught that they may be believed.

Ecclesiologists, disappointed in their attempts to trace the twelfth century in Roman church architecture, whose

ancient characteristics have, for the most part, been concealed or destroyed, will turn with satisfaction to an excellently-preserved example of monastic building, severe and simple, but imposing in style—the cloisters of San Lorenzo. Built about 1190 for the Cistercians, then established at that extra-mural monastery, which was also the residence assigned to the patriarchs of Jerusalem when they might visit Rome, these cloisters at San Lorenzo may be classed with the now forlorn and dilapidated ones of SS. Vincenzo and Anastasio, the site of the martyrdom of St Paul.

What is most important is the indication in such cloistral buildings of the renovated life in the orders to which they belonged; the monastic institute often subsiding into deep decline, and almost dissolution, in many cases having been generally resuscitated before the end of the tenth or during the eleventh century.

Its zenith of merits and energies was yet to come; and the Cistercian and Cluniac reforms, the newly-founded Camaldolese and Carthusian orders, had revived those high standards of austere observance now beginning to be followed with enthusiasm throughout the regions of Latin Christendom.

San Clemente

The paucity of monuments left by the Middle Ages in Rome is one of the disappointing realities in the modern conditions of that city. They are, however, to be easily accounted for by reference to the historic circumstances of those times, so troublous and continually agitated by

the shocks of contending parties, in a metropolis whose misfortune was to exist under a government never strictly defined, or guaranteed from disaster, by a general and loyal recognition of constituted authority. The senate and aristocracy on one hand, the popes and their ecclesiastical ministers on the other ; and at a distance the vague but powerfully-supported claims of the emperors of the West, produced in the aggregate a confusion, contributing to render Rome, perhaps, the most unquiet centre for social life throughout that period understood in the term "mediæval." Whilst magnificent cathedrals were rising into grandeur of completeness at Pisa, Lucca, Orvieto, Siena, Florence, Milan and elsewhere, Rome produced nothing worthy of an enduring place among the great monuments of Christian faith and genius ; and during the period most eventful to the study of revived arts in Italy her pontiffs were spending their lives in inglorious exile at Avignon, leaving their capital to its gloomy destinies, ruinous, depopulated and torn by faction. Still more discreditable to the government of past ages in Rome is the deliberate, I might say, Vandalic demolition through which the art of the Middle Ages has, in numerous instances, had to suffer here, and that within periods of high development, of liberal patronage, in the same sphere of interests elsewhere. Proofs might be cited of utter non-appreciation and ignorant neglect, manifest until a period within the memory of those still living, in the condition of one of the most remarkable monuments of mediæval antiquity, still enriching Rome—the beautiful cloisters of the Lateran,* and the lament-

* The horrible "modernizations" carried out in some of the most interesting of the early churches during the "baroque" period may be

able consequences of indifference to Early Christian art as displayed in the removal of mediæval paintings from that basilica. There, the wall spaces above the pier arches were painted with sacred subjects by Masaccio, Gentile da Fabriano, and Vittore Pisano, the first artists of their time, commissioned by Martin V.

Over the chief portals was the Last Judgment, a large fresco dating earlier than the fifteenth century, and all these art works, whose merits may be inferred, at least in the case of those by the masters above named, were swept away in the tasteless renovation of this church under Innocent X.

But the explorer, who, not contented with beaten tracks or frequented sites, is ready to search and inquire for what still remains to represent the Christian mediæval genius here, may find not a little to reward and delight him in spite of that incapacity to appreciate, even to revere, the creations of the Middle Ages, manifest on the part both of authorities and artists at this centre. That Rome had, until the latter part of the last century, failed to produce any high school of sacred art, nobly characterized and distinctly her own, is surely ascribable to nothing else than the influence of a rule which, checking the impulses of freedom, has raised a barrier also to the development of genius.

Turning to the brighter side of the picture, we have

adduced in evidence of this, but the annihilation of a fine old fifteenth-century Gothic portal, with its clustering pilasters and guardian lions supporting columns, at San Salvatore in Tauro, in order to the rebuilding of its façade in a style that reminds only of the club-house or theatre, was perhaps one of the most flagrant pieces of mischief of this kind ever perpetrated. Committed as it was during the middle of the last century, such an offence was unpardonable. The Lateran cloisters have happily been well restored.

an almost unbroken chain of monumental records, from the time of Constantine, supplied in one walk—the mosaics of Rome's churches ; but in sacred painting little of early or clearly-ascertainable date beyond the limits of that most productive sphere, the Christian catacombs. Therefore it is that the new and rich mine of such treasures, brought to light half a century ago in the subterranean basilica of San Clemente, must be regarded with more than cordial satisfaction, important as they are for archæological and artistic studies. Indeed, among the many interesting archæological discoveries that have been made in the Eternal City during the pontificates of Pius IX. and Leo XIII., or even within the present century, very few, if any, surpass in importance that of the primitive basilica of San Clemente. The works undertaken for this purpose between 1857 and 1870 resulted in the exhumation of what may be termed three distinct strata of constructions that respectively belong to the three different periods of the history of Pagan Rome—the Imperial, the Republican, and that of the Kings. For more than a thousand years no record of this basilica had been handed down to us : its very existence was lost to history as well as to sight. Some idea, however, of its importance may be formed from the fact of its having been noticed by St Jerome and by the sainted pontiffs, Zosimus, Leo the Great, Symmachus, and Gregory the Great. From the time of the last-named Pope no writer had alluded to it until the year 1857, when it was fortunately rescued from oblivion by the Rev. Joseph Mullooly, the estimable and learned prior of the convent of Irish Dominicans located here ; and it was by his untiring exertions that not only one of the most interesting series of ancient wall paintings

that Rome possesses was, as funds came in, gradually exhumed, but a thorough exploration was undertaken of this venerable basilica, which, immediately after Christianity had emerged from the Catacombs, was erected to the honour of the martyr pontiff, St Clement.

History as well as tradition inform us that Clement, who was a Roman by birth, and a member of the Octavian family, was instructed in the mysteries of the faith by St Barnabas, and baptized by the prince of the Apostles himself. St Paul calls him his "fellow-labourer," and mentions him among those "whose names are written in the Book of Life" (Phil. iv. 3). Shortly after his conversion he erected an oratory in his own house, to which the Christians of those days used to repair, to assist at the celebration of the divine rites and be instructed in the mysteries of their faith. This oratory was, in the beginning of the fourth century, replaced by a basilica of considerable size. St Jerome alludes to it in his work entitled *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, in which he says, "Nominis ejus (Clementis) memoriam usque hodie Romæ exstructa Ecclesia custodit." The words "usque hodie" are very significant. They prove that this church must have been of long standing, even in the days of the sainted writer. It is also mentioned by Pope St Zosimus, who, within its walls, condemned, in the year 417, the heresy of the Pelagian Celestius. In 449 it is recorded as a titular church, by St Leo the Great, in one of his epistles to St Flavianus, Patriarch of Constantinople. Symmachus and St Gregory the Great refer to it in their writings, and history informs us that it was restored and enriched by Adrian I., Leo III., and Leo IV. But

when, or how, or by whom so venerable a basilica was destroyed no historian mentions, nor do ecclesiastical annals give us any clue to the solution of the question.

It disappeared and passed into oblivion, so that every record that had been handed down to us regarding it was referred to the comparatively modern church that was built upon its ruins ; and hence it is that it is regarded as the most perfect type existing of the Early Christian basilica. But a particular study of the topography of this region of the city, and a minute inspection of the marble *chorus*, in what we may now call the modern church, as well as other reasons, induced Father Mullooly,* so far back as 1847, to suspect that it could not be the church alluded to in the writings of the above-mentioned Holy Fathers, and therefore that another basilica existed either beneath or somewhere near it.

Just as he was about putting his conjectures to the test the Roman revolution broke out, which, together with other circumstances, prevented him from carrying his intentions into effect. But he did not despair. For ten long years he adhered to his conjectures, which had gradually grown into convictions.

In 1857 he set to work, and, opening a passage through a chamber that contains some remains of ancient walls, and thence through two others, quadrangular and vaulted, he arrived at a wall, in which he made an aperture ; and after removing a quantity of rubbish, to the depth of about fourteen feet, he succeeded in discovering three columns standing erect, and several fresco paintings. These discoveries removed all doubt from his mind regarding the existence and the site of the primitive basilica ;

* The energetic prior of the Irish Dominicans. He died in 1880.

but the great difficulty still remained as to how it could be explored.

Father Mullooly had no means at his disposal to complete so arduous and expensive an undertaking, and therefore it only remained for him to bring his discovery under the notice of the Commissioners of Sacred Archæology, and to induce them to undertake its continuation.

The Commissioners, at his request, came to inspect the researches that had been made. They acknowledged the importance of the discovery, and in June 1858 they undertook the excavations, which they prosecuted with energy and zeal until February 1861, when they suspended them. During that time the whole of the right aisle and part of the left were cleared out. Four other columns and several frescoes were brought to light. These columns support the northern wall of the upper church, and are of various marbles; one of "breccia corollina" spotted with pink; two of oriental granite; two of fluted Numidian marble; one of white Grecian marble; and one of "verd' antico," remarkable for the red stains varying its surface of vivid green and white, which so enhance its value that it is considered unique in Italy. The intercolumniations are filled up with walls of rough masonry, and above the pillars are arches of mediæval construction. The opposite wall was entirely covered with paintings, of which only a few fragments still remain. One represents the martyrdom of St Catherine, and is a proof that her legend was known in Rome long before the period of the Second Crusade, when, as some writers erroneously assert, veneration to her was imported from the East. The figure of the saint is for the most part nude, her hands are bound

before her, and she stands between two executioners at the wheel, near which are written the initial letters of her name, K. A. (Katherine of Alexandria). Lower down, and close to the entrance of a niche, is the figure of a fish, probably the remnant of a painting illustrative of the history of Jonah. At the back of this niche is a figure of the Madonna, with the infant Saviour standing on her knees and holding in His left hand a scroll, while His right is raised in the act of blessing. The type and head-dress of the Virgin remind us of the Byzantine school of painting. On the vault is the head of the Saviour surrounded with a "glory" and rays in the form of a cross. He is beardless, like the representations of Him in the Catacombs. On the sides of the niche is represented the Sacrifice of Isaac. All these figures, with the exception of Isaac and the angel, are in a good state of preservation. Farther on, and higher up on the wall, is a group of nineteen heads, all looking in the same direction, and between them is a pair of scales or steelyard, with the following words vertically written: "Stateram justam modicum auget." Beyond this again is another group of thirty-two heads of males and females, similar in design, but in a better state of preservation. The eyes of all are large and dark, and the expression austere. What these groups represent it is difficult to determine; but the probability is that they are the spectators of the martyrdom of St Ignatius in the Coliseum. The remains of that glorious martyr are preserved in this church. Near the steps leading to the tribune is another figure of the Saviour of colossal size. The head and upper part of the shoulders were destroyed during the building of the modern church. Christ is robed in a majestically-folded mantle;

His feet are sandalled; His right hand is raised in benediction; and in His left He holds two books placed over each other, representing, probably, the books of the Old and New Testament. An arabesque border, gracefully designed, surrounds this painting. Towards the end of the same wall is an inscription of which only the following portion can be deciphered: "Quisquis has mei nominis literas legeris lector dic indigno Joanni Miserere Deus." Who this John was who thus begs the prayers of the passing reader is not known. Two other sarcophagi were found at the other extremity of this aisle, one of which contains the skeleton of a man and the other those of a man and woman; but there is no inscription to indicate their names, or when they lived and how they died. Near them is a fragment of a monumental inscription, containing the names of Ursus and Polymius, who were consuls in A.D. 338.

When the excavations reached the west end of this aisle the lower part of the wall was found to be of superior construction to the upper, as well as of a superior quality of brick. After removing about two feet of rubbish, three substructures of different constructions were found; one of brickwork of Imperial times; the other, which is ascribed to the period of the Republic, is of massive blocks of travertine, varying from ten to twelve feet in length; and the third of large blocks of tufolithoide, laid over each other without cement, which is referred to the regal period. These substructures run parallel to each other. The travertine and tufo walls were traced in one direction 176 feet, and in another 90 feet.

Passing through the narrow passage excavated between

the walls already described, the west end of the southern aisle is reached. It was covered with frescoes similar in style to those in the northern; but most of them were found, in 1857-60, only in a fragmentary condition. One represents the crucifixion of St Peter, of which nothing remains but the two feet nailed to the cross. Lower down is an angelic face of great beauty; a figure of a Christian in the attitude of prayer; a few mutilated faces of saints with the halo; some symbols; and the figure of an emperor with the imperial diadem upon his head, his right hand being extended as if he were giving orders to two personages who are standing before him. It is supposed that this figure represents Michael, Emperor of the East, sending St Cyril to evangelize the Slavs; and the supposition is strengthened by the discovery of the name Cyrillus written vertically on the wall near one of these figures. At right angles with this is an archbishop, with the Greek *pallium* and *nimbus*, in the act of baptizing some person by immersion.

This has been conjectured to represent St Cyril baptizing a Slavonian prince, and on the left is a tomb constructed of brick, in which, perhaps, the saint was interred.

Gundericus, Bishop of Velletri, who was a contemporary of St Cyril, and who, very probably, assisted at the translation of his relics from the Vatican to San Clemente, tells us, "posuerunt corpus ejus in monumento ad id præparato in Basilicâ Beati Clementis." The Duchesne monuments inform us that the monument was "ad dexteram partem altaris ipsius" (Clementis). The position of the brick tomb precisely corresponds with this account. The Barberini MS. confirms the same fact, as

also do the writings of Del Sodo, Ugonius Pancirolus, John Dubravius, Baronius Rondonini, and De Burgo, all of whom concur in stating that St Cyril was buried in the basilica of San Clemente, although they differ as to the exact place. To these authorities that of the following inscription, found in 1863 in the narthex of the old basilica, may be added: "Huc a Vaticano fertur Papa Nicolas hymnis divinis atque aromatibus sepelivit." This epigraph refers to a funeral procession that is painted above it.

The interest created by the paintings above described was surpassed by that which others discovered within the nave subsequently excited. But it should be observed, before entering into some description of them, that a row of columns (eight in number, of which only five, with the bases of three others, remain) corresponding to those in the northern aisle was found in the southern. Two pilasters of quadrangular form interrupt this pile. Their sides facing the nave are covered with paintings, which, whether we consider their preservation, or the subject they represent, must be regarded as the most important of the kind ever discovered in Rome. On a pilaster, discovered in October 1861, and measuring about 9 feet 6 inches in width, is a picture divided into three compartments, each containing a distinct subject. The upper one is cut off below the middle of the figures by the foundations of the upper church. It apparently represents the installation by St Peter of St Clement in the Pontifical Chair, the names of all the actors in the scene being written below. St Linus and St Anacletus stand on either side, and there are also two priests and two soldiers, the latter wearing the military garb of ancient Rome. This

group suggests a doubt as to the historical correctness of the usually-accepted accession of the popes, for if St Linus was a spectator of the elevation of St Clement, it is probable that he was the third Bishop or Pope of Rome, and not, as generally supposed, the immediate successor of St Peter.

The central compartment, the colours and drawing of which are wonderfully well preserved, represents the interior of a church with columns, the distinguishing feature of the old basilica, and lighted by lamps of the ancient form prevailing in Christian churches. In the centre, on the step or daïs, St Clement is standing, clothed in his robes of office, and near him is an altar with a cup and paten, and an open book, bearing on one page the words, "Dominus vobiscum," and on the other, "Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum." On his right are two bishops, a deacon and an acolyte or thurifer. On his left is a group of persons, amongst whom is a lady of noble presence assisting a blind man. Under their feet are the names Theodora and Sisinius, and they are doubtless the portraits of two noble Romans whose conversion to Christianity is mentioned in the life of St Clement. "Hos inter Sisinius necnon uxor ejus Theodora Christo nomen dederunt." In front of the group on the right are the portraits of the donors of the fresco to the church: they are distinguished by the name of Beno below the male figure. Under the whole length of this picture is the following inscription: "Ego Beno Derapiza cū Maria Uxor Mea P. Amore. Di Et Beati Clementis." There is no distinct clue to the date of this fresco, but a family of Rapiza is known to have inhabited this quarter of Rome in the eleventh century.

The lowest compartment, separated from the central one by an ornamental scroll, represents three workmen, under the superintendence of an overseer, raising a column by means of a rope and lever. The name Sisinius is written below the feet of the overseer or architect, and from the inscriptions, in a sort of mongrel Italian, which occur in various places, he would seem to be finding fault with his workmen, in language more pointed than polite. It has been supposed that this group represents the ordinary incidents of building, but it may be intended to delineate the construction or repair of the basilica itself, upon which this Sisinius may have been employed.

The second pier resembles the first in its triple division and its mutilation at the upper part. In the first compartment is a large sitting figure of the Saviour enveloped in a flowing robe, and with the feet bare. He holds a book on which is written, " Fortis. Ūt Vincula. Mortis." On His right stands St Michael, on His left, St Gabriel, and beyond them respectively St Clement and a saint who is styled " S. Nykolaus." *

The great interest, however, of this fresco is caused by the spirited and graphic delineation in the life of St Alexius, which forms the central picture. According to the legend of this saint he deserted his wife and his home on the night of his marriage, and wandered forth in the world for many years. Here his return is depicted. In the background is seen the palace of his family, from the window of which his wife is looking at the arrival of her

* On the left end of this pilaster figures of St Egidius (our St Giles) and St. Blasius (St Blaize) are represented. The latter is in the act of extracting a thorn from the mouth of a child who is presented to him by his mother. This group is full of expression and very beautiful.

father-in-law, Euphemianus, attended by his two henchmen, who is addressed by the pilgrim, Alexius. In the centre of the picture the saint is on his death-bed receiving the last absolution from a Pope to whom he delivers a roll containing a record of his story. The Pope is surrounded by a numerous retinue of ecclesiastics. In the last division of this picture the body of St Alexius is seen reclining on a bed. The manuscript has been read, and the saint has been recognized by his family, who give vent to their grief. The Pope endeavours to console them, and at the same time, with outstretched hand, gives his benediction. An inscription below this picture explains the various scenes in these words :—" Non Pater Agnoscit Misereri Q. Sibi Poscit Papa Tenet Chartam Vitæ Quæ Nuntiat Artam." The Pope, from a mutilated name on the picture, is probably intended to represent St Boniface I., A.D. 418. The third compartment contains an arabesque amongst fruit and flowers.

It would appear that in the picture of the installation of St Clement it was the intention of the painter to represent that saint as the immediate successor of St Peter. Ciaconius, in his life of Linus, says : " Licet Petrus Clementem successorem sibi designasset, Clemens tamen modestiâ ejus juri suo cessit, et Linus Pontifex Romanus electus fuit." But it is generally admitted that the subject here represented (Sisinius and the workmen) refers either to the building of this basilica or to St Clement's exile in the Tauric Chersonese, where, as we read in his life, he found two thousand Christians condemned to work in the marble quarries.

On the side of the pilaster facing the wall that supports the columns in the upper church is another series of

paintings, divided, like those already described, into three horizontal compartments. In the upper is a figure representing " S. Antoninus " in his sacerdotal robes ; the head of the saint is wanting. Which of the many martyrs of that name, or at what period he lived, and by what acts he shed a lustre on the Christian name, cannot now be determined, but his position, in such close proximity to the three first occupants of the chair of St Peter, leads to the supposition that he must be the Antonine who suffered martyrdom under Domitian. An effigy of the Prophet Daniel adorns the centre compartment. He is standing erect in the attitude of prayer, with his eyes raised to heaven, while two lions lovingly lick his feet. He is clad in the Roman toga and chlamys, and wears the ephod on his breast. On his face beam supernatural calmness and celestial dignity. Beneath his feet, in the lower compartment, are five lions, four of which, with extended jaws, are springing towards their prey. Their ferocious aspect forms a most striking contrast to the divine dignity of the prophet.

The indefatigable labours of Father Mullooly were subsequently rewarded by the discovery of other most important paintings. On a pilaster forming an angle with the wall at the end of the nave are represented, in three historical compartments, the three following subjects : on the highest, the two Maries at the tomb of our Divine Lord, holding vases of perfume in their hands, a lamp burning before the tomb ; an angel pointing to the tomb, and appearing to say to the inconsolable women, " Surrexit, non est hic." *

* " Marys twain with news of gladness
Freed the Church of God from sadness ;

The central compartment describes the descent of the Saviour into Limbus, or Hades. The Redeemer is clothed in white, surrounded by an azure cloud, and in the act of liberating from their purifying prison a man and woman, probably Adam and Eve. With His right hand He takes the man, while the woman runs towards Him with extended arms. The Marriage Feast at Cana in Galilee is depicted in the lower compartment. On the right of the spectator rises a magnificent palace, and on the left the banquet hall, or cœnaculum. Among the guests are the Blessed Virgin and her Divine Son, both with "glories" of equal size ; but that over the head of Our Lord has also rays. The water-pots are on the right of the Saviour ; and on the Virgin's left, but in a lower position, the master of the feast, with the word *architriclinus* written vertically over his head.

On another pilaster at the end of the nave is the Crucifixion, with the Blessed Virgin and St John standing on either side of the Cross, with their eyes steadfastly fixed on the Victim of man's redemption. This Crucifixion is regarded by archæologists and connoisseurs in pictorial art as the oldest in Rome, or perhaps in the world. A little more to the left, near two columns of *nero antico* and *porta santa*,*

> One was the Virgin Mother, one
> The Saint whom sin had once undone.
> One the gate whereby salvation
> Entered in for every nation ;
> And one, the herald, sent to tell
> That Christ had risen and vanquished hell."

From the Easter hymn, "Mane prima Sabbati." Translated by John Mason Neale for the *Hymnal Noted* (1850-55).

* A rare description of red and white marble, so called from the large block over the Porta Santa of St Peter's. It is probably the lapis Chius of the Grecian Archipelago.

is the Saviour, seated on a celestial throne, supported by four angels. In His left hand He holds an open book, while the right is extended. This is, in every respect, a most charming composition. Beneath it is, apparently, the Assumption ; * and lower down still, the Twelve Apostles in various attitudes, all with their eyes fixed on her who is vanishing from their sight. St Vitus, holding a cross in his hand, is on the extreme right ; and on the corresponding left St Leo, as the vertical inscription on either side of his head indicates. The Pope is robed in his pontifical vestments, wears the pallium, and in both his hands holds a jewelled book, probably the Book of the Scriptures. On a band under this picture the following inscription is written in one line :—" Quod hæc præ cunctis splendet pictura decore, componere hanc studuit presbyter ecce Leo."

The movement, gesture and execution of all the figures in this composition evince great artistic ability. On two fillets running parallel to the above description are the following names :—Hier. . . . Ego Mercu. . . . Mercurius Presb. Petrus Lurissa. Ursus Presbyter. XXX. m. Novembris, obiit Kalo-leo+Salbio Presbyter peccator. Salbius Presb. Benedictus. Joannes Presb. Joannes—pre de Titu. Ego Rufinus Presb. Ven. Dom. Clemens Presb. Flori. Florus Presb. S. Theodori. Giorgius, Ego Mercurius Presb. Ego Mercurius Presb.

The excavations in this now subterranean church of San Clemente were pursued at intervals down to about 1870, by which time the whole of the space was laid open. Many other paintings of great value and interest came to light, especially one of a series discovered in

* *See* p. 169.

1863 in the atrium, conjectured to have been the work of a Greek artist, and executed in the eleventh century.

It was on the wall on the right hand of the narthex, or that portion supporting the columns of the portico of the (comparatively) modern upper church, that this group—a very fine one—was discovered. It consists of five figures. In the centre the Saviour is seen standing with a nimbus round His head, with rays in the form of a cross. He holds a closed book in His left hand, and with His right gives the benediction according to the Greek form, with the thumb and third finger brought together. The archangels, St Michael and St Gabriel, the former holding a wand, stand on the right and left of the throne, and are in the attitude of presenting to the Saviour two kneeling, tonsured figures, the one holding a richly jewelled chalice of Byzantine workmanship and a napkin, and the other a book. They may possibly represent St Cyril and his brother, St Methodius. On the extreme right St Andrew stands with a roll in his hand ; and on the left St Clement, in his pontifical robes, with the pallium, extends his right hand towards the kneeling saints, whilst in his left he carries a ponderous book richly decorated with jewels and a clasp.

The whole painting is flanked by two columns, one of which is of Parian marble, the other fluted Pavoneze. These columns appear to have once supported an arch, of which some traces remain. The countenance of the Saviour is remarkably expressive and dignified, and is that of a young man with a youthful beard and dark hair. The names of the archangels, and also those of St Andreas and St Clemente, are painted in capital letters ; that of the latter is worthy of observation as being the first time that the termination *e* has been found to his

name in the old basilica; an indication of the period of transition from the Latin to the Italian language. Beneath the group there was an inscription of five lines in ancient letters, but it has unfortunately not resisted the destructive agencies of time and humidity, and is now so nearly obliterated that hitherto the most skilful archæologists of Rome have been baffled in their attempts to interpret it.

Religious legend is so inseparably connected with religious monuments that it is impossible to avoid dwelling upon it, more especially in connection with the churches of Italy.

Imaginative creations of the earlier Middle Ages are indicative of excited feeling, and serve alike to suggest subjects for art; though, in regard to some, the horror and gloom environing their details may have deprived them of that attractiveness to the mediæval mind found in instances where the spiritual lesson was more edifying, or more directly conveyed. It was believed of the boy-pope, Benedict IX.,* that he used to commune with evil spirits, and had obtained from them the charms by which he subjugated defenceless females to his will; and that after his death his troubled ghost used to be seen rushing by night through the Latian mountains, like one frantic from horror and anguish; the vision on earth of his punishment in the invisible life.

Paschal II., cardinal titular of San Clemente, was elected in the last year of the eleventh century, in that ancient

* Intruded into the papacy in 1033, by the powerful family of the Counts of Tusculum, when he was about twelve years old, and who, after he had for ten years disgraced that sacred rank by his vices and follies, was persuaded to abdicate.

church (first mentioned by St Jerome as a basilica on the site of St Clement's house, and well known in the fourth century), the restoration of which, necessitated by damages suffered from the Norman conflagration, was one among many works, for repair or rebuilding in Rome, undertaken by that energetic Pope, who consecrated fifteen churches in that city in the course of an episcopate extending over nineteen years.

In spite of much bad modernization we recognize the characteristic features of the twelfth century in portions of San Clemente; in the external walls, the narrow arched windows, and the cornice of the apse, with the quaint mixture of terra-cotta and marble, henceforth becoming a feature in Roman masonry.

In the antique (now subterranean) church the weight of the superincumbent building mainly rests, as evident, on the brick buttresses thrown up so completely as to fill the spaces between the marble columns dividing nave and aisles. We see how that system of buttresses cuts off the aisles, so that the worshippers there placed would be allowed no view of the altar from the aisles. It is not possible to conceive that such an arrangement would have been adopted *before* the lower had become subordinate as a mere crypt to the upper edifice. And observing those paintings of historic and legendary subjects, of which I have given some account—a certain series indeed, and those the more archaic in character, occupy the surfaces of the outer walls, parallelograms in plan; but others (and the greater number) cover those later brick structures between the columns; to which latter pictures, therefore, this same peculiarity of their collocation may induce us to assign a date far less remote than I am

aware has been claimed for them by respectable iconographists.

About half a century ago an important remnant of a patrician mansion was discovered below the subterranean church. Its vaulted halls are adorned with stucco reliefs truly Classic in style, and to all appearance it is no other than the very mansion of the pontiff St Clement, next but one in succession to St Peter.* It seems unlikely that a dwelling associated with his memory should have been cut off from all communciation with the church above; and there is a fact recorded by old chroniclers which may confirm the supposition that both the actual crypt-church and the ancient mansion beneath it continued accessible, perhaps often visited for devotion for some time after the comparatively modern San Clemente had come to its present level on the Cœlian Hill.

We read of the Emperor Otho III., who died at the age of twenty-two (who undertook long pilgrimages in his pious fervour, and at one time, like Henry II., resolved to exchange his crown for the cowl of a monk), that, whilst resident in Rome, in 999, he retired, clad in sackcloth, and barefoot, together with a German bishop, his spiritual director, to spend fourteen days in the most penitential exercises and profound seclusion *within a cavern* near San Clemente.

* The discovery of a Mithraic altar, with the usual subject in relief of Mithra's sacrificing the symbolic bull, in these subterranean buildings, might be difficult to account for, unless we suppose that, after the suppression of that oriental worship, such relic of it might have been deemed worth preserving for the sake of its sculpture, and concealed here to be beyond the reach alike of the idolater and the destroyer. The highest ascendancy ever attained by Mithraic worship at Rome falls within the second century of the Christian era, under the Antonine Emperors.

Now, if we observe the configuration of the Cœlian slopes around that church, it seems impossible to infer the existence of any natural cave in this neighbourhood ; and we may believe the chronicler mistaken in describing the retreat of that imperial penitent. We may suppose the subterranean mansion of the sainted pontiff, naturally preferred out of regard for the *religio loci*, to have been the real scene of these devotions, accessible from the sanctuary above, as it is probable that both St Clement's house and the subsequently-interred basilica first raised above it continued to be, long after the completion of the more modern buildings. Besides these reasons there are analogies in treatment, ecclesiastical costume and sacred ornament between some of the Clemente paintings and other art-works known to be of the twelfth century, that seem further to support the inference of a later origin than some authorities have assumed. And perhaps no earlier date than the twelfth century can be assigned to the most interesting among the series that illustrate St Clement's martyrdom, and the miraculous retreat of the sea from a submarine mausoleum, built by no human hands, to enshrine his body ; alike with those representing the legend of the young patrician Alexius, who fled from his father's palace, and from his bride, on his marriage day, to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, returning at last to die, an unknown mendicant at the gates of those parents who did not recognize him till after death—a story that had its rise in the fifth century, and associated with the church of SS. Alessio on the Aventine, where we see the wooden staircase beneath which that pilgrim died, with a statue under it of the young saint in his last moments.

These paintings—invaluable as filling up the hiatus, hitherto left in Roman art history, between the primitive works found in catacombs and the incipient Renaissance—have been assigned severally to dates ranging from the fourth to the end of the eleventh century. Some may, perhaps, be later, but it seems well ascertained that the ninth and tenth centuries must be the periods of not a few. One of the most curious among them, and indeed barbaric, is a Crucifixion with St Mary and St John beside the cross. No doubt this is the earliest example in painting at Rome of the introduction of that subject, so important an event for the interests of art and for the tendencies of ritual. If this awful death-scene had appeared in art-treatment even from the sixth century, and had begun to be allowed its place in the sanctuary from the eighth, we have no ground for supposing that its permanent and indispensable position in the sacred cycle can have been determined earlier than in the course of the tenth or eleventh century. The example at San Clemente may, I believe, be fairly referred to the former of these centuries, being decidedly inferior to the mosaics in Roman churches of the preceding, as also to every art work in this city, pictorial and mosaic, referable to the twelfth century. The figure on the cross appears as dead, and we know that neither death nor agony were commonly, though they indeed were occasionally, represented in this act of the Divine Sufferer's story till the subject had passed into its second phase, that is from about the beginning of the tenth century, when such modification was popularized in the West by Greek monks.

One subject among these paintings, assumed (on page 163) to be the Assumption, might be considered the earliest

example, at least in Western art, of such introduction in the sacred range, if we could feel assured that the Assumption were really intended by the artist here.

Though Roman critics be agreed in this notion as to the picture in question, I must venture to differ so far as to maintain the view that it is the Ascension of Our Lord which is here presented to us in the very rudest treatment.

True, the Mother's figure is central and at a higher level than those of the Apostles, who stand around her, but instead of soaring upwards she is evidently standing on terra firma, her arms extended in prayer, whilst above the group, high in air, hovers the form of the Saviour, within an elliptical nimbus supported by angels, and this, not hers, is the ascending figure, as indicated also in the action of the angels, who seem to bear upward the encircling halo around which they float, in the midst of which is the Glorified One.

One of the figures accessory to this group is that of a pontiff, and interesting for determining of date, as it has the square nimbus (implying a person who still lived) and the title written, "sanctissimus dominus Leo Papa Romanus," also the last letters of a word that might be read either *tertius* or *quartus*, and we may here recognize either Leo III., who died in 816, or Leo V. (855), to the times of one of which popes the picture may indubitably be assigned.

To the century following may be assigned another Madonna at San Clemente, painted within a niche; in the insipid character and overloaded ornaments of whose head and person we recognize the *fade* Byzantine manner. The "Maries at the Sepulchre," the "Descent into

Limbo," and "The Marriage at Cana," on a wall of the same subterranean church, at an angle with the Crucifixion picture, are apparently of about the same period as the latter, alike rude, and almost grotesque attempts at ambitious subjects perhaps near to the art-range in its earliest limitations. The "Funeral of St Cyril," in which a crowned pontiff, Nicholas I., walks in procession attended by clerics with sacred symbols, may perhaps be of not much later date than that Pope's reign, 858-67.

The primitive chapel—in its nucleus an oratory within the house of Pope St Clement, the second successor to St Peter—was replaced in the fourth century by a basilica of architectural importance, mentioned, as I have already stated, by St Jerome and several of the early Popes. Next, this church was restored and embellished by different pontiffs in the seventh and eighth centuries, but eventually (at least as we are left to conjecture in the absence of proofs respecting its later destinies) was reduced to ruin by the tremendous fire that swept over the entire region from the Capitol to the Lateran, caused by the Normans in 1084, during the occupation by Guiscard, the defender of Gregory VII., against the invading Emperor Henry IV. After this catastrophe it seems that, before the lapse of many years, this basilica was restored under Paschal II. (1099-1118). The renewed church, built at a higher level, so as to overwhelm and reduce to a long-forgotten subterranean existence the venerable temple below it, was enriched, in that portion comprising the chorus and presbytery, with sculptural screens of white marble streaked with grey, inlaid with dark green in panels and circles, and agreeably relieved with thin strips of mosaic; a beautiful paschal candlestick and

ambons ; and by a fine and complicated mosaic covering the conch of the apse, of about the same date. The whole of these choral and ritual arrangements form a perfect example of such ecclesiastical ordonnance, and may be referred to the eighth century.

At San Clemente the apse and altar are at the west end, and the ambons were brought up from the subterranean church and placed in their present positions in the early part of the twelfth century. The one for the Epistle, with its desk facing the altar, and its other desk from which the Prophecy was read, at the foot of the steps turned towards the nave, stands on the north side of the low choir-screen. The Gospel ambon stands opposite on the south side. Its four flights of steps, placed like those on the Gospel ambon in San Lorenzo (q.v.), are complete.

It is probable, however, that the position of these ambons in San Clemente were reversed at their removal, and one fact seems to point to the conclusion that they were so, for the Gospel ambon has been turned round, so that at the present time its paschal candelabrum stands at the corner furthest removed from the altar ; whereas, in all other examples, it is situated between the pulpit portion of the ambon and the altar, being usually placed at the end of the balustrade at the foot of the steps. Were the altar in this basilica transferred to the east end, and the Epistle ambon turned, the positions of *both* ambons would then exactly resemble those in San Lorenzo.

The high-altar canopy of the time of Paschal II. is supported on four slender columns of pavonazetto marble ; along the front of the altar is this inscription : " Flavius Clemens martyr hic feliciter est tumulus " ; and a marble wall, rather higher than that enclosing the *chorus cantorum*,

is carried right across the church at the four bays in the second series of five arches, which are borne on Ionic columns, plain in the first series and fluted in the second. As to that marble-enclosed choir and *schola cantorum*, with its richly-inlaid screens and ambons, no monument of its description better answers the purpose of illustrating the story of ritual; and that disposal of the sanctuary, which was the natural result of ceremonial doctrines, while it secured to the ceremonial expression of those doctrines the highest dignity, is in no other Roman church retained to this day unaltered as at San Clemente.

On the other hand, we have deplorable proof of its deliberate destruction within modern times in several of the Roman churches; and the restoring works in progress at Sta Maria in Trastevere, forty-five years ago, brought to light the remnants of a similar plan, a *chorus* advancing far into the nave, which must have been sacrificed so early as the twelfth century, when that basilica was almost rebuilt by Innocent II.

Other interesting features, which render the Cœlian basilica so important for its archæologic character, are those preserved in its exterior: the atrium surrounded by porticos, which may be referred to the buildings of Paschal II.; the outer narthex, or vestibule, where those penitents called *flentes* in the Early Church system had their station; the inner narthex, or pronaos, for the *audientes* and catechumens, and at the entrance to that pillared quadrangle a porch with vault and columns, which Roman antiquaries refer to the ninth century.

In the interior the deep-recessed chapels at the extremities of each aisle claim notice. They represent the

diaconicum and *gazophylacium*, for deposit of the sacred vessels and offerings of the faithful. The mediæval baldachino, with traces of the use of curtains for concealing the sacred ministers, except at certain solemn passages in the rites, is also a most valuable feature in the instrumenta.

Comparatively modern as this upper edifice is, it has long been cited as a model of the primitive Roman basilica in all its leading features—the arcades, separating the nave from its aisles, gathered into groups of circular Ionic shafts by a pier ; the flat roof ; the semicircular apse, containing the ancient episcopal throne. Notwithstanding the incongruous paintings along the walls over the arcades, the profuse gilding and carving on the flat wooden coffered roof, added under Clement XI., early in the eighteenth century, it still presents this type, invested with a character of olden dignity and sanctified calm that at once strikes responsive chords of religious feelings within the soul. And the services are in harmony with this finest expression peculiar to the sacred structure itself.

Among the beautiful thirteenth-century monuments or other charming objects dispersed over different early churches in Rome, the mosaics in the apse vault of San Clemente hold a very high place. Dating from about 1297, and executed at the expense of Cardinal Tomassio, a nephew of Boniface VIII., there are few examples of Christian mosaic in which mystic meaning and poetic imagination are so finely blended as in these works at San Clemente.

Here we have the Crucifix and a wide-spreading vine tree, that covers the whole field (allusive to Him Who said, " I am the True Vine "), both springing from the same stem ; twelve doves, emblematical of the Apostles,

on the same tree of death and life as the Divine Sufferer ; the Mother, and the Beloved Disciple beside it ; the usual hand extended out of a glory above with the crown ; the four doctors of the church, and other small figures of men and birds introduced among the convolutions of the vine ; and at the basement the four Rivers of Paradise with stags and peacocks drinking at their streams. Thus we read in that beautiful " prose," the " Jucundare plebs fidelis " of Adam of St Victor : *

" Paradisus his rigatur,
Vivet, floret, fecundatur ;
His abundat, his rigatur
Quattuor fluminibus.
Fons est Christus, hi sunt rivi ;
Fons est altus, hi proclivi,
Ut saporem fontis vivi
Ministrent fidelibus."

The figure of St Dominic is a modern addition. It seems evident, from the characteristics of style, that the other mosaic above the arch opening into the apse, and at the spandrels, are more ancient, perhaps by about a century. These represent Our Lord in the act of benediction, the usual four emblems, and St Peter and St Clement, St Paul and St Laurence in pairs, seated together, the two Apostles being designated by their names within the Greek " hagios " in Latin letters. Round the archivolt are inscribed the first words of the " Gloria in excelsis," with the additional phrase, " Deo sedentio (*sic*) sub thronum."

The cardinal titular of the Church, to whom the mosaic in the conch is due, also bestowed the graceful Gothic

* A somewhat weak adaptation of Dr Neale's rendering of this fine prose is given in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, No. 434.

tabernacle for the holy oils. It is canopied, and the reliefs upon it represent the donor presented by St Dominic to the Virgin and Child. It is now set against the wall at one side of the apse, and is among the finest examples, though but an accessorial object, of mediæval art in Rome.

Sta Agnese fuori le Mura

Sta Agnese fuori le Mura, a basilica about a mile beyond the Porta Pia, is one of the most interesting Christian edifices in or about Rome, in that it is the most unaltered. It is, moreover, the best existing specimen at Rome of the smaller basilicas, without transepts, and with that upper gallery found also at the SS. Quattro Incoronati and San Lorenzo.

It was founded in 324 by Constantine, at the request of his sister Constantia, on the spot where the body of St Agnes was discovered. The church being below the level of the soil, the descent into it is by a long flight of marble stairs at the (ecclesiologically) south-west corner. The walls of these stairs are covered with sepulchral inscriptions, chiefly of the early Christians, found in the neighbourhood, and some are interesting as giving their dates, by having the names of the consuls of the period upon them; others, although written in the Greek character, express Latin words. One of the most remarkable is a large slab, covered with an inscription in verse, in honour of St Agnes, by Pope St Damasus (366-385); the letters are in the ordinary beautiful form used in all such memorials of that pontiff.

Entering the church from this point, the interior pre-

sents some striking characteristics of the unaltered basilica. We find a nave separated from the two aisles by sixteen ancient columns, ten of which are of Serravezzia Breccia, four of the rare Portasanta, and two of Pavonazzetto, with good Corinthian and composite capitals—some of them curiously fluted. Above rises a second range of columns of the same material but of smaller dimensions, upon which rests the wall, pierced with small round-headed windows and supporting the roof, which happily retains its old low-pitched wooden form. The columns of smaller dimensions just alluded to carry round arches upon their large square abaci and enclose the gallery, resembling in some respects the triforia of our great Norman churches, one of the characteristics of the Pagan basilica, as described by Vitruvius, and which, in the early Christian ones, was set aside for females, as it was in the Pagan edifices. In Sta Agnese this gallery is returned across the west end of the church, assuming that the building orientates properly. Between the clerestory windows are paintings of Virgin martyrs. Under the high altar, which is surmounted by a baldachino, sustained by four porphyry columns, is the crypt, or confessional, where the remains of St Agnes are deposited. Her statue on the altar is composed of an antique torso of Oriental alabaster, with modern head, hands, etc., in bronze gilt.

The conch of the apse is covered with a mosaic representing St Agnes between popes St Symachus and Honorius; very interesting in the history of the art and of the time of the latter pontiff (A.D. 630), with an inscription in Latin verse. At the top of the conch is a hand of providence, holding out a jewelled wreath. In the middle St Agnes is seen standing amid flames, with

joined uplifted hands holding a scroll, crowned, with a large nimbus, and clothed in the most richly and heavily jewelled garments. The other figures are tonsured priests without nimbi, in loose brown mantles over white albs, and each with a stole or pall. One is offering or holding a book, the other a church—which is, by the way, a curious representation of a basilica with a clerestory. This latter figure is said to be Pope Honorius in the year 625.

Below these figures is the following obscure inscription :

✠ "Aurea concisis surgit pictura metallis
Et complexa simul clauditur ipsa dies
Fontibus Enibeis credas Aurora subire
Correptas nubes ruribus arvaricans
Vel qualem inter sidera lucem proferat Irim
Purpureusque pavo ipse colore nitens
Qui potuit noctis vel lucis reddere finem
Marturum e bustis hinc reppulit ille chaos
Rursum versa nutu quod cunctis cernitur uno
Præsul Honorius hæc vota dicata dedit
Vestibus et factis signantur illius ora
Decet et aspectu lucida corda gerens."

Below the mosaics the walls of the apse are lined, as at Torcello, with thin plates of white marble. Two modern windows have unfortunately been inserted here.

Students of the Early Renaissance will admire a bas-relief altarpiece in the style of the cinquecento, representing St Laurence and St Stephen. The small chapel at the extremity of this aisle occupies the place of the ancient sacristy, and the modern sacristy, at the ecclesiologically north end of the narthex probably that of the ancient baptistery. At the side of the high altar is a handsome antique candelabrum in marble, found in the adjoining catacombs.

The church, thoroughly repaired at the expense of Pius IX. (1846-1878), is now one of the most beautiful of its age and class about Rome, the works including a restoration of the ancient wooden roof, a new marble pavement, and the decoration, at intervals, of the lower tier of aisles with mosaics and portraits of several of the popes most connected with the basilica.

The church is some short distance from the road—the Via Nomentana—to which it presents its eastern apse; and so much below its level that a flying bridge connects the lateral gallery of the church with the road. To reach the nave a long staircase, which opens on to the south part of a kind of western vestibule, formed under the western gallery, has to be descended. Many ancient epitaphs are built into the walls of this staircase, two of which I copied. Of these one was merely, "Locus Maximi Presbyteri." Presbyter is generally the word for priest, I noticed. Another ran thus:

"Juliæ Ingeniosæ
Conjugi Carissimæ
Aurelius Datus."

One slab had the symbol of an anchor.

Among the inscriptions in the church I noted the following, which I here append:

"Fama refert sanctos dudum retulisse parentes
Agnen cum lugubres cantus tuba concrepuisset
Nutricis gremium subito liquisse puellam
Sponte trucis calcasse minas rabiemque tyranni
Uvere cum flammis voluisset nobile corpus
Viribus immensum parvis superasse timorem
Nudaque profusum crinem per membra dedisse
Ne Domini templum facies peritura videret
O veneranda mihi sanctum decus alma pudoris
Ut Damasi precibus faveas precor inclyta martyr."

On the festival of St Agnes (21st January), High Mass, accompanied by good music, is celebrated by the titular cardinal of the church, or by a bishop, and is followed by a curious ceremony a little before noon, the blessing of two male lambs, which are placed upon the altar, decorated with flowers and garlands, and are afterwards handed over to the nuns of a convent in Rome, by whom they are reared for their wool, which is employed in making the palliums distributed by the Pope to great Church dignitaries.

Opening into the court of the convent is the hall, erected about fifty years ago on the site of an older one, where Pius IX. had a narrow escape from the falling of the floor, surrounded by several civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries, in 1854. A large fresco on the wall represents the scene of confusion, in which the Pope, cardinals, Church dignitaries and military officers are seen precipitated pell-mell into the cellar.

This precious daub, bearing the name of Tajetti, does little credit to the Roman school of painting of that day. On the adjoining wall are two marble slabs containing the names of all the dignitaries who were present, amongst whom are not a few of Hibernian origin, pupils of the College of the Propaganda.

SS. Quattro Coronati

This church stands opposite San Clemente, but on higher ground, and retains a good deal of work of the twelfth century. Founded by Honorius I., about 622, it was rebuilt with more splendour by Leo IV., about two

hundred and thirty years later, and again restored almost from its foundations by the energetic Pope Paschal II., who consecrated it anew in 1111, and also built the adjoining residence for his own use, whilst the Lateran was left in ruins, and could not be restored, owing to want of means. The gloomy but picturesque pile of brickwork, which the visitor is informed is the Church of the SS. Coronati, seems more like a feudal castle than either a papal palace or (what it is now) a female convent and an orphan asylum ; and the vicissitudes it has passed through are traceable in its actual features—its double atrium and two outer porches, its colonnades with Classic shafts, and capitals, several of which are cut off from the piles now supporting the attic above the nave, and left isolated in the inner atrium, external to the reduced limits of the sacred interior. Some antiquaries suppose that a vaulted corridor, quite plain, in part subterranean, and running along the rear of the semicircular tribune, is the sole remnant of the church of Leo IV. ; but it may be believed that, in its severe, sombre character, the actual interior represents the style of the ninth century architecture in Rome.

SS. Coronati is remarkable, besides the extra-mural Sta Agnese and San Lorenzo, for the arrangement required by strict discipline, no doubt primitive, in the complete separation of the two sexes at worship. I refer to that upper gallery, with its colonnades—a triforium in fact—appropriated to females.* The groined vaulting in

* This feature reproduced itself in later times in the triforia or *Männerchöre* of the Rhenish Romanesque churches, as *e.g.*, Neuss, St Maternus, Cologne, Sinzig, Andernach, Boppart, St Mary, Coblenz, and Limburg-on-Lahn, where it is exclusively appropriated to the *male* portion of the congregation.

the aisles, though the nave has the coffered wooden ceiling, is another peculiar detail. A Gothic inscription over a pointed arch records the last-named operation when the SS. Quattro, after being long abandoned, was repaired by a Spanish cardinal in the fifteenth century; and the desolation of this church, together with many others in Rome, both parochial and conventual, during the schism of the antipopes, previous to the date there given, may be inferred from the metrical lines of the epigraph :—

> "Hæc quæcunque vides veteris prostrata ruinæ
> Obruta verbenis, ederis, dumisque jacebant," etc.

For the story of local construction both church and convent are interesting, since they display the imperial method adopted after the great fire of 1084—the abandonment of the so-called Saracenesque masonry in irregularly-cut tufa blocks, and the substitution of lateritial brick-work removed from Classic edifices, and henceforth preferred for use by the mediæval Roman builders till about the middle of the thirteenth century, though examples of this workmanship occur at much later dates; for the thermæ of Caracalla were stripped of their finer brick-work by Pope Paul II., to supply material for the Farnese Palace in precisely the same manner.

The present church of the Quattro Coronati has a short nave, divided from its aisles by round-headed arches on antique and not uniform columns; beyond this is a transept and a very wide apse, as broad as the transept or as the nave and aisles together. The altar stands just within the chord of the apse, faces west, and is guarded by a low railing. The walls and conch of the apse are covered with modern paintings. At the end of each transept are

steps descending to the confessionary ; which still contains the bodies of the four martyrs to whom the church is dedicated—SS. Severus, Severianus, Carpoforius, and Victorinus. The pavement of the nave is mosaic ; the two aisles have Roman vaulting. The arcades over the aisles, above alluded to, did not seemingly exist in the original church. They have six arches on each side, and diverse monolithic columns. They are used by the religious of the establishment, and in the wall between the crowns of the nave arches and the bottom of the gallery-walls are pierced four square apertures, which are grated, meant apparently to give air to these galleries which are returned across the west end. The clerestory windows, which are in the triforia, are tall round-headed lights, now walled up.

Sta Maria in Trastevere

One of the most important edifices in which the genius of the twelfth century may still be appreciated is Sta Maria in Trastevere, a point at which concentrate many legends and memories that carry us back into a past even anterior to the Christian era. As the Aracœli church is associated with the name of Augustus, and the legend of the altar dedicated by him to the expected Messiah, so is this venerable church connected with the history of the best among heathen emperors—Alexander Severus, who adjudicated in a suit between the Christians and certain tavern keepers (*popinarii*) for possession of the site supposed to be identical with that where this Sta Maria stands, and which the former desired to appropriate for worship ; the young emperor deciding that it was better

to allow the worship of God under whatever form than riotous feasting on this hallowed ground—*melius esse ut quomodocumque illic Deus colatur quam popinariis dedatur* (Vita. Alex. § 49).

It is traditional (not indeed certain) that Calixtus I. (c. A.D. 222) founded on this spot the first public place of Christian worship in Rome, which was rebuilt by Julius I. in 340 ; and again by Gregory III. nearly four hundred years later, its site having been originally occupied in imperial times by the Tabernia Meritoria, or hospital for retired soldiers ; and especially preferred by the Christians, because here a fountain of oil had gushed from the ground, and continued to flow hence into the Tiber for one day, shortly before the Nativity of Our Lord—a phenomenon far from unaccountable or unprecedented in Italy, but interpreted by such early Christian writers as Eutropius and Orosius as a præternatural foreshowing of that Divine Birth. The spot where the oil gushed forth is still marked by a grated cavity below the tribune of Sta Maria in Trastevere, whence some moisture of the soil led to the idea of their identifying it at the restoration in the twelfth century ; and two Latin epigraphs, one near the cavity in question, and one on the coffered ceiling, still remain to assert the miraculous nature of that phenomenon, whilst the words *Fons Olei*, on a marble slab near the Ponte Sisto, indicate where that fountain made its way into the Tiber.

In 1139 Innocent II. ordered the entire rebuilding of this basilica soon after, and in the act of thanksgiving for, his release from a harassing contest on the submission of the Antipope Anacletus. His successor, Eugenius III., finished between 1143-53 what the former did not live

Rome | Sta. Maria in Trastevere.

to see completed ; but it was not till near the end of the same century that this new basilica was consecrated by Innocent IV.

Of the building erected at that period, the campanile, the lateral walls and cornices, the fine Ionic colonnade of massive granite shafts, the rich inlaid pavement and (most interesting) the mosaics, both external and internal, alone remain intact. On the façade, disfigured by the worst early eighteenth-century work, the composition on a frieze of mosaics, ordered by Eugenius III. in 1135, is fortunately left *in situ*. This precious relic represents the Blessed Virgin with the Child on a throne amidst ten female saints, five approaching on each side, all richly clad, and all holding lamps, which are lit in the hands of eight, unlit in those of the two others. This suggests the Parable of the Ten Virgins ; but it is clear that such a subject cannot have been in the artist's thoughts, as each in the stately group advances towards the sacred throne with the same devout aspect and graceful serenity, the same faith and confidence. The sole observable distinctions are that the two with unlit lamps are somewhat more matronly, their dress simpler, more nunlike than is the case with the rest, and that instead of being crowned, as are the others, these two wear veils. Explanation of such attributes may be found in the mystic meaning attached to lamps—the light being appropriate to virgin saints, the oil taken to signify benevolence or almsgiving ; and we may conclude that the females without light are wives or widows in this saintly group.

Two other diminutive figures (the scale indicating humility) who kneel at the feet of the Blessed Virgin are Popes Innocent II. and Eugenius III., vested in the ponti-

fical mantle, but bare-headed. Originally the Madonna and Child *alone* were nimbed, as we see in a water-colour drawing taken from this original,* dated 1640, *before* a renovation by which that halo has been given alike to all except the two popes. Another much-faded Madonna and Child, under an arched canopy, high up on the campanile, may perhaps be coeval with the mosaic just described.

Sta Maria in Trastevere comprises a western vestibule, a broad nave divided from its aisles by eleven columns (mostly Ionic) on each side, besides two responds ; a transept (not extending, however, beyond the aisles), and a round-ended apse as broad as the nave. The pillars of the colonnade between the nave and the aisles are said to come chiefly from a temple of Isis,† but there are some few which are of a different pattern to the rest. They sustain (instead of arches) a heavy plain entablature, upon which are a series of very depressed discharging arches (not concealed by any decorative work) which bear a heavy projecting cornice, and the clerestory walls. The arch of triumph is a noble round arch, turned on two rich composite columns just detached from the wall. The floor retains an elaborate mosaic pavement, in which are some interesting incised monumental slabs. The aisles, chapels, clerestory and roofs belong entirely to the " confirmed Italian " epoch, and chapels have been added in the same style. This is regrettable, but the roof over the nave, designed by Domenichino, who painted the Assumption in the centre of it, is a fine if not over-gorgeous example of its age and class.

* Now in the Barberini Gallery.

† Many of the Ionic capitals have, either in their volutes or their flowers, small heads of Isis, Serapis and Harpocrates.

The high altar stands in the middle of the tribune, facing west, under a modern baldachino of good design after the antique, and there is an episcopal chair in the middle of the apse, raised on five steps. There are two paschal candlesticks, spiral columns inlaid with bands of mosaic work, which stand on the lowest step, one on each side, of the ascent from the nave, and on each side of the bays, intermediate between the nave and the apse, is a kind of cage, or pew, with high cross-bars at the top, intended for singers during a solemn Mass.

The great mosaic in and above the apse, restored by Camuccini early in the last century, is the most valuable art-work of Sta Maria in Trastevere. Central to the principal group on the vault is the Saviour, seated, with His Mother, crowned and robed like an Eastern Queen, placed beside Him. Both share the same gorgeous throne, and the same footstool; above appears a hand that extends from a fan-shaped glory, with a jewelled crown for the head, while *she* (a singular detail) is giving benediction with the usual action, He embracing her with the left arm and in the right holding a tablet that displays the words, "Veni electa mea, et ponam in thronum meum," to which corresponds the text from a tablet in her left hand, "Læva ejus sub capite meo, et dextera illius amplexabitur me." Below the throne stand, on the same plane, each with his name in gold letters, Innocent II., holding a model of this church; St Laurence in deacon's vestments,* with the Gospel and a jewelled cross in his hand, the sainted Popes, Calixtus I., Cornelius and Julius I., St Peter (in white classic vestments) and Calepodius, a priest and martyr of the third century, introduced into the

* Dalmatic and alb.

group because his body, together with those of the other saints in this mosaic, was brought from the Catacombs to be here enshrined.

With respect to ecclesiastical customs, this grand mosaic in the apse of the Trastevere basilica affords positive evidence of its splendour and varieties in the twelfth century. We do not see the keys in the hand of St Peter, but the large tonsure conspicuous on his head. He is said to have invented that ecclesiastical badge, and it is sometimes the sole peculiarity (besides his ever-recognizable types) given to this Apostle in art.

Surmounting the archivolt is a large cross between the A and Ω, supported by the Evangelistic symbols. Laterally are large figures of Isaiah and Jeremiah, each with a text from his prophecies on a scroll; while along a frieze below, twelve sheep issue from the holy cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and approach the Holy Lamb, who stands on a mount whence flow the four rivers of Paradise—or, as some iconographists more justly interpret it, the four streams of Gospel truth.* Palms and a phœnix are seen beside the two prophets, also a less commonly-introduced symbol—caged birds that signify the righteous soul incarcerated in the body, or (with highest reference) the Saviour in His assumed humanity.

Such an accessory suggests the ancient custom in some countries of releasing birds at funerals, and of that still kept up amidst the magnificent canonization rites, of introducing various kinds of birds, in cages, near the high altar.

When we bear in mind the date of this splendid mosaic composition in the Trastevere basilica—about a century and a half before the epoch of Cimabue and Giotto, we may

* Vide *Adam of St Victor's*, stanza, page 175.

hail in it the dawn that ushers in a brighter day compared with the deep gloom previous, if not an actual Renaissance of Christian art.

The more important mosaics on the lower wall of the apse, illustrating the principal events in the life of the Virgin Mary, belong to the thirteenth century. They are by Pietro Cavallini, besides the other mosaic, in which the commissioner of this work, Bertaldo Stephaneschi, is seen in the act of being presented, kneeling, to the Madonna by SS. Peter and Paul. The treatment of the last scene here, from the life of the Blessed Mother, is very remarkable, in that the artist has presented, *not* the assumption of the body, but the transit of the soul in the form of an infant received into the arms of the Saviour, who appears amidst the group of apostles.

This treatment of the subject may be taken as an evidence of the gradual admission of that legend as to a corporeal ascent, like that of the Son Himself, in the case of His Mother.

The renovation and embellishing of this church, half a century ago, brought to light a choir advancing from the centre of the nave, and no doubt enclosed by marble screens, entirely hidden under the intarsio pavement.

If this feature had really been so sacrificed in the twelfth century, the fact affords singular proof of the early departure, even in conservative Rome, from precedents that affected both ritual usage and the architectural plan in sacred edifices.

At later periods, such ancient choirs and enclosures were removed from many churches in that city.

There are two good monuments in Sta Maria in Trastevere, those to Cardinal Stefaneschi, of the Annibaldi

House (1417), and Cardinal d'Alençon, brother of King Philip le Bel ; also an altar with Gothic canopy and relief from the story of the Apostles Philip and James, to whom it was dedicated by the same French cardinal. On the Alençon monument we see, besides the usual recumbent figure, a relief of the Transition of the Virgin, remarkable in this respect, that there is nothing to indicate the Assumption of St Mary in the body, but a different idea, corresponding to that expressed in earlier treatments of this subject, the soul being seen, in form of a new-born infant, received into the arms of Christ, who stands above the bier, amidst the mourning Apostles. The sculptor of the tomb of Cardinal Stefaneschi has been identified as Paolo da Gualdo, and it bears the signature, " Magister Paulus."

This master has been identified with various sculptors who bore the name of " Paolo " ; among them Paolo di Mariano called Paolo Romano. In the church of San Francesco at Vetralla is a tomb evidently by the same hand as the Stefaneschi monument, and which is signed in full : " M. Paulus De Gualdo Cattanie Me Fecit." The sculptor is therefore not a Roman, as usually supposed, but an Umbrian from Gualdo Cattaneo near Spoleto, who worked at first at Viterbo and its neighbourhood, and later went to Rome. The following works have been ascribed to him with certainty ; the tombs of Bartolomeo Carafa in Sta Maria del Priorati, Rome (1415) ; of Briobis, son of Giovanni Vico, Prefect of Rome, at Vetralla, dating from the close of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century ; a tablet commemorating a Neapolitan noble, Niccolò de Summa, at Civitacastellana, of 1403 ; and the Anguillara monument at

Capranica di Sutri (1408). The Alençon monument and the Gothic altar in Sta Maria in Trastevere are attributed by some to this same Paolo ; the former with some certainty, but the latter doubtless belongs to a later and less-gifted artist.

In the sacristy of Sta Maria in Trastevere is a tabernacle for the holy oils by Mino da Fiesole, worthy of that sculptor's high repute, both in the perfect elegance of architectonic design and in the fine treatment of the figures, which comprise reliefs of the Saviour, from whose side blood is flowing into a chalice ; St Peter and St Paul on the summits of pilasters, and angels who appear to guard the metallic doors.

In the western vestibule are numerous casts of early Christian epitaphs,* of which the following may be interesting :

"Aelia Bictorina posuit Aureliæ Probæ."

(This monument has outlines of a camel and peacock.)

"Anatolius filio benemerenti fecit qui vixit annis VII. mens. VII. diebus XXI. Spiritus tuus bene requiescat in Deo. Petas pro sorore tua."

"Firmia Victoria que vixit annis LXV."

A ship and a lighted beacon-tower are engraved on this stone.

"Fl Secundino benemerenti ministratori. Chrestiano in pace qui vixit ann XXXVI. Dp. III. Non. Mar."

To the south-west is a fair brick tower of the ordinary Roman type, but as it has been a good deal tampered with it cannot compare with those, let us say, of Santa Francesca Romana or Sta Maria in Cosmedin.

* Most of the originals are now in the Museum of the Lateran.

The external front of the south transept exhibits some very curious remains of Pointed Gothic work. Over a window there is a projecting Pointed canopy-arch ; and over the door, which is square-headed, there is also a high canopy, of a plain Pointed arch, under a pediment, bracketed out and projecting some feet—forming a protection to a fresco of the Madonna, which occupies, as it were, the tympanum of the door below. It is wholly of moulded bricks.

Sta Prassede

Connected with the street by a long ascent in a kind of roofed passage, with nine monolithic columns in it, is this ancient and very curious church, which may be combined with Sta Maria Maggiore in a visit to that noble basilica. It was built in memory of Praxedis, daughter of the Senator Pudens, with whom, according to tradition, St Paul lodged during his stay in Rome. The Apostle mentions his reputed host in the Second Epistle to Timothy, iv. 21 : " Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren." Linus is considered by Church historians as the successor of St Peter ; Claudia is believed to have been the wife of Pudens, and the daughter of the British chief Caradoc or Caractacus.

There is some appearance of confusion between this church and Sta Pudenziana in the legends which place both on the site of an oratory built by Pius I. in the second century. Records tell as early as the end of the fifth century of a church which fell into decay and was

replaced, between 817 and 820, under Paschal I., by a new building which still remains apparent on an adjoining site. It consists of a nave of four compartments separated from its aisles by Corinthian columns, not continuous but broken up into threes by massy pilasters supporting arches which span the church transversely. These columns carry an entablature, and over this is a very lofty piece of walling which carries the modern flat-coffered ceiling. The breaking up of the nave arcades in the manner I have alluded to is a marked peculiarity of Sta Prassede, and one which has been a subject of controversy among archæologists. These transverse arches occur at San Miniato, Florence—where, however, the roof is the original low-gabled one of wood—and some other later basilicas, and are repeated, at Sta Prassede across the aisles, dividing them into bays of three intervals each, a peculiarity which, if it could be shown to belong to the original structure, would give the earliest known example of compound bays which characterize the Lombard and German Romanesque churches. It is more likely, however, that these piers and arches in Sta Prassede were later insertions added to stay the colonnades, when barrel vaults were given to the aisles.

The arch of triumph and the apse are covered with mosaics, dating from the first building of the church, as is shown by the occurrence of Paschal's monogram. Those above the former represent Our Lord supported on either side by an angel, in the centre of an archaically-represented city, the gates of which are also guarded by angels; the figures on either side bearing wreaths and offerings, and those below with palm branches representing the faithful. Under this arch the breadth of the nave is divided

into three flights of steps, the middle one descending to a small confessionary, the side ones leading to the tribune. The altar stands outside of the chord of the apse, under a modern baldachino, which may have served as the model for that in the late Mr J. D. Sedding's remarkable Italian Renaissance church in Exmouth Street, Clerkenwell, and faces east. To the north stands a modern marble paschal candlestick; and there is an organ on each side of the tribune in a gallery supported by white marble columns, whose capitals are remarkable for their foliaged ornament. The mosaics of the apse represent Our Lord standing; to whom the sisters Sta Prassede and Sta Pudenziana, both holding garlands, are presented by two priests. Paschal himself, with a square blue nimbus, vested with a pall, and holding a church, stands by. Under them is a river, inscribed "Jordanes," and under the conch is a row of the twelve sheep round the Agnus Dei, Bethlehem being represented at one end and Jerusalem at the other. Below is the legend:

✠ "Emicat aula piæ variis decorata metallis
Praxedis Dno. super æthra placentis honore
Pontificis summi studio Paschalis alumni
Sedis apostolicæ passim qui corpora condens
Plurima Sanctorum subter hæc mœnia ponit
Fretus ut his limen mereatur adire polorum."

In the middle of the nave is an octagonal well, with a low wall round it, in which Sta Prassede used to conceal the remains of martyrs, which her pious care had collected. A figure of the saint is represented as kneeling by it with a lamp, and at the west end of the north aisle a slab of marble is inserted in the wall, on which the saintly virgin used to sleep.

San Carlo Borromeo was Cardinal of Sta Prassede, and in one of the chapels are shown his chair, and a table (quite worm-eaten) on which he used to feed the poor. In the south aisle is a most interesting, but rude, incised monumental slab to the memory of a pilgrim. He is habited in a sort of dalmatic over an alb, a low-crowned hat with the shell fastened to it, a scrip suspended from a strap crossing his body from shoulder to waist, and holding his pilgrim's staff with its pointed end downwards in his right hand. The slab bears the following epitaph: "Istud est sepulchrum johannis montis opuli speciarii. Vos estis, ego fui: q. sum, vos eritis. Oretis pro me peccatore: agite penitentiam." The lettering of this inscription would fix the date of this stone about the beginning of the fourteenth century. Perhaps the most interesting feature of Sta Prassede is the chapel, or oratory of San Zeno. Attached to the south wall of the south aisle, this chapel is contemporary with the present church, being built by the same Paschal I. It is probably one of the earliest side chapels in existence. Over the door is the following inscription: "Paschalis præsulis opus decor fulget in aulo quod pia obtulit vota studuit reddere Domino." The chapel is entered from the aisle by a square-headed door, ornamented with a magnificent projecting architrave—doubtless a fragment from some antique edifice—and flanked by two columns of the rare black porphyry and granite (*porfido e granito nero-bianco*). The plan of this oratory is a square with rectangular recesses on the three sides, in the one of which opposite the entrance is an altar, while in that to the right hand of the entrance is preserved a relic so sacred that no female may enter the chapel, according to the terms of this notice:

"In questa santa cappella non possono entrar le donne sotte penedi scommunica!" The relic is the pillar of the Flagellation; a short and shattered column—resembling the pedestal of a sundial in shape.* If this relic be really believed in, it seems strange that any other column is ever represented in pictures of the Flagellation. One would think that a painter would consider the ascertained shape and size of the column as laws; accordingly, in a fresco of this same subject in the body of the church, this column is represented. The square of this oratory is roofed with a Roman vault; four columns stand in the four corners, but have nothing to do with the vaulting. The roof is covered with fine mosaic, illustrated in colour by Gally Knight in his *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*, representing a head of Our Lord within an aureole which four angels (one at each corner) are sustaining with outstretched arms.

The walls are also covered with mosaic above a string-course, below which they are faced with thin slabs of marble. The floor is also a mosaic one, and small patterns of the same kind of decoration adorn the jambs of two wide rectangular windows.

Sta Maria in Cosmedin

This most interesting of the smaller Roman basilican churches, built within a temple, was founded by Adrian I. late in the eighth century, and rebuilt under Calixtus II., about 1128, by Alfanus, Chancellor of the Papacy,

* Brought from Jerusalem in 1222 by a Cardinal Colonna and from which the chapel derives its second name of *la Colonna Santa*.

whose marble tomb stands in the atrium with his epitaph, along a cornice, giving him that most comprehensive title "honest man," *vir probus*,* some more than half-faded paintings, a Madonna and Child, angels and two mitred heads on the wall behind the canopy, conferring importance on the tomb of this Chancellor.

Though now disfigured exteriorly by a façade in the worst style of the eighteenth century, Sta Maria in Cosmedin,† since the judicious restoration of its interior, is one of the mediæval gems of Rome, and retains many fine details of its earlier architecture; the Classic colonnades imbedded in the walls of the north aisle and the west end, and probably left in their original place since the time of Adrian I., and (of the twelfth century) most noticeable among all, that fine campanile, one of the loftiest and most picturesque in Rome, which is so often seen in views of the neighbouring church of Sta Maria del Sole.‡

The sculptured doorway, the rich intarsio pavement, the high altar with its charming spiral ciborium, the

* This "vir probus Alfanus" is commemorated on the altar of the Cosmedin church.

† The affix "*in* Cosmedin" to the name of this church, derived from the square Al Meidàn in Constantinople, refers to the fact that it belonged to the Greek Colony in Rome (*Schola Græca*).

‡ The graceful temple with circular peristyle, commonly called that of Vesta, though more probably that of Hercules or Cybele. It was first dedicated as a church by the Savelli family, and restored at a later period by the Della Rovera family, in the time of Sixtus IV. (1471-84). Over its altar is a fresco of some merit, referred to the same period, with figures in two files of the Saviour, SS. Stephen, Laurence and other saints; this church having been originally dedicated to St Stephen (*San Stefano alle Carozze*), but subsequently to the Blessed Virgin, under the title of *Sta Maria del Sole*. An epigraph recording its restoration under Sixtus IV. describes also its previous condition, "ædem incultam et incognitam."

marble and mosaic-inlaid ambons and open screens (a most perfect example of restored mediæval Roman choral arrangement), the marble episcopal throne with supporting lions and a mosaic decoration above, in the apse, etc., deserve the warmest admiration. The destruction of the mediæval paintings by whitewash in the wall surfaces is to be deeply deplored. These paintings were known to have adorned them conformably to that ancient and once almost universal practice of polychrome decoration in churches which was even prescribed by a law of Charlemagne. Ciampini, in his valuable history of the Cosmedin basilica, mentions the iron rods for curtains once seen between the columns of the atrium and still in their place above those of the porch, with rings for suspending; also a small chapel, like a recess, at one end of that atrium with paintings of the Madonna and Child, the symbols of the Evangelists, and so on. This chapel would seem to have been provided for those penitents who were not allowed to worship with the congregation in the sacred building; as such it is an evidence of disciplinary observance, retained till the twelfth century, the loss of which is a matter for regret.

Over the portals are some curious bas-reliefs, but so small, and placed as they are along the inner side of the lintel, that they might be passed unnoticed by the casual observer. In the centre is a hand blessing, with the Greek action, between two sheep, who represent the faithful; laterally we see the four evangelic emblems, all winged, and two doves, each pecking out of a vase, and one perched on a dragon (more like a lizard) to signify the victory of the purified soul over mundane temptations or passions.

Another such example of such mystic sculpture over a

ROME: INTERIOR OF STA. MARIA SOPRA MINERVA.

ROME: INTERIOR OF STA. MARIA IN COSMEDIN.

church portal, and probably of the same period, is at Sta Pudenziana (restored in 1130), where, above the chief entrance, are bas-reliefs of the Lamb, with cross and nimbus ; the daughters of Pudens, SS. Praxidia and Pudenziana, holding vases filled with martyrs' blood, and two males, each with a scroll and a book in his hands ; these latter represent the converted senator Pudens and St Pastor, brother of Pope Pius I., to whom this church was once dedicated, conjointly with that senator's daughter.

The interior of Sta Maria in Cosmedin, since the restoration of its ancient *chorus* and screens, and the removal of much tasteless baroque " embellishment," is one of the most engaging of the basilican type in Rome. It comprises a nave and aisles, and a round-ended apse to the former. The arcades are remarkable, being divided, on each side, by solid mass piers into three compartments of four and three bays each. Upon entering there are four round arches and then a pier ; then four more arches and a pier ; and again three similar arches to the end. The columns, all antique, are diverse in size and style, some fluted, some plain. There is a considerable wall space between these arcades and the clerestory, which presents a series of small round-headed windows, close under the roof which has been restored to its old form.

The floor is entirely paved with mosaics, in which, however, some ancient inscriptions are worked up. The altar stands westward of the apse under a Pointed baldachino ; the tribune (reaching as far westward as the first mass-pier) is raised three steps, and the *chorus cantorum*, whose screens are continued across the aisles, extends further west into the nave, one step high, until lately, without any wall or fence, but with an ambon on each side. A view

of the interior of Sta Maria in Cosmedin, as it appeared before the restoration of the old *chorus*, and showing these ambons isolated on either side of a slightly-raised floor, is given by Gailhabaud in his *Monuments anciens et modernes*.

The ambons are just as in San Lorenzo : *i.e.*, the Epistle-ambon, a square pulpit with a book-desk facing east, is on the north side of the church ; the south side, however, of the altar faces west. The Gospel-ambon, on the opposite side, is an octagonal pulpit, facing sideways, with two flights of steps on opposite sides and a paschal candlestick, which is as usual a spirally-twisted column with mosaic ornaments. The appropriate name of its maker was Paschalis, who is commemorated thus :

> " Vir probus et doctus Pascalis rite vocatus
> Summo cum studio condidit hunc cereum."

There is another spiral column ornamented with mosaic work, in the apse, to the right of the pontifical chair, which has its arms carved in lions. The baldachino, which figures in Gailhabaud's drawing, has four classical columns sustaining a Pointed canopy with a trefoiled arch on each side ; angular pinnacles, and a small quadrilateral open niche at the top, surmounted by a cross. This canopy is groined quadripartitely inside from small vaulting shafts which rise from the capitals of the larger columns ; the vault being domical with the ribs meeting in a small boss.

The altar underneath it has an ancient mensa of white marble upon a porphyry sarcophagus. On the back of this slab is engraved this legend : " ✠ Ann. MCXXII. . . . dedicatū e. hoc altare per manus Dni Calixti : P.P. II., v. sui pontificatus anno mense maio die VI., Alfano camerario

ejus dona plurima largiente." In front is an inscription commemorating a reconciliation of the altar, in 1758. To the south-west is the very fine Roman campanile already alluded to; square, of brick, with a tall plain basement and then seven low stages. Of these the lower two have two windows on each side, and the other five three windows on each side, divided by shafts, but the fourth stage from the top has been altered.

Sta Maria sopra Minerva

The church of Sta Maria sopra Minerva, the principal establishment of the order of St Dominic in Rome, might be classed among monuments either of the thirteenth or the fourteenth century; and we know that, after long suspense and frequent interruptions, the works for its building were not completed till some years after the opening of a later age.

On the site where a temple of Minerva is said to have been founded by Pompey the Great, rose, at some date within the sixth century, the first Christian church to occupy the place of that Pagan fane, and which was bestowed by Pope Zachary about 750 on certain Greek nuns.

The Dominican friars had been for some years established at the first residence granted to them in this city, a portion of the Papal palace on the Aventine (now the convent of Sta Sabina) given to their sainted founder in person by Honorius III.; but in consequence of those premises proving insufficient for the increasing numbers in their community, and for the large congregations at-

tending at their worship and preaching, they desired to open another church and convent, and obtained permission to occupy the ground where more spacious premises were soon ready for occupation. Here their new community, separated from that of the Aventine cloisters, became settled in the course of the year 1260; and fourteen years later it obtained from the Pope the adjacent church, no longer owned by the nuns, who had settled elsewhere.

In the first period of Dominican annals we find that all their principal churches and convents were either designed or completed, embellished or restored, by artists belonging to their own Order; and a certain superiority in artistic character, as in general taste, apparent in such of their Italian churches as have escaped modernization, still asserts the claims of the Dominicans, at least in this country.

It is not quite certain who were the architects first engaged at Sta Maria sopra Minerva, on the buildings commenced for this religious Order in 1286; but it is probable that they were no other than the already celebrated Sisto and Ristoro, two Dominican lay-brothers, who had built the first church of their community in Florence, Sta Maria Novella, and who both probably arrived in Rome that same year—Fra Ristoro for a short sojourn, Fra Sisto to remain here eight years.

A brief of Boniface VIII., addressed in 1295 to the prior of the new convent, refers to this church, then progressing, as *opera plurimum sumptuosa;* and seeing the beautiful monument to Bishop Durandus * was erected

* The learned Bishop of Mende (in Languedoc), author of the *Rationale Divinorum Officium*, of which a translation was made early

within these walls soon after his decease in 1296, we may conclude that the buildings were then in an advanced stage. In 1300, however, they were suddenly left in a suspense prolonged during the entire period of the Papal residence at Avignon; nor was it till long after the fifteenth century had dawned that this edifice rose to its completeness. In 1431 its state was such as to allow of the assemblage of the cardinals for conclave in its sacristy, where, on that occasion, Pope Eugenius IV. was elected.

The church of that period had a plain roofing with bare rafters, for which, in 1450, a Gothic vault was substituted at the expense of a Spanish cardinal, Torquemada (not the notorious Grand Inquisitor, but another of that name and house); and three years subsequently Sta Maria sopra Minerva was at last finished, thanks to the liberality of Prince Orsini, then Prefect of Rome.

Like so many other Roman churches, the fate of Sta Maria was to be altered and disfigured to suit a depraved taste dominant in later ages; and but few leading features of the original Pointed style remained recognizable here till restoration was undertaken in 1849. The restoration was conducted by a Dominican lay-brother who himself directed the works which, completed in 1854, have given to the church a character almost unique among all in Rome. If not a pure type of the genuine Pointed style, Sta Maria sopra Minerva presents such conformity with that norma as produces an impression solemn and pleasing, and excites the subdued sense of hallowed ground, the feeling of the Infinite, far more than do all the pompous

in the days of the English ecclesiological movement by Benjamin Webb and John Mason Neale, the founders of the Cambridge Camden Society.

buildings in the revived Italian taste with their *crambe repetita* of detail and profusely-lavished but often meaningless ornamentation.

In the actual building scarcely any details of the earlier Gothic remain except the groined vault, a few monuments, and the front of the chapel containing Giotto's Crucifixion, where a cusped arch and marble canopy present good examples of the style. The only other art work of the fourteenth century still seen here is the statue in coloured stone of St Catherine of Siena, vested as a Dominican nun, recumbent, as in death, under the high altar, and visible by light of lamps that perpetually burn around it through marble open-work, with colonnettes that support the mensa above. The consecrated chamber in which that saint died, not far from this church, removed hither by order of Cardinal Barberini in 1637, and now placed isolate in a compartment behind the sacristy, would be a more interesting relic of the individual and of her time if it had not been entirely encrusted with marble on the outside and covered with paintings in the interior—a decoration entirely modern and by no means praiseworthy.

To proceed to some architectural details of Sta Maria sopra Minerva. Its dimensions are very large, the whole length being about three hundred feet, and the breadth of the nave above forty feet.

In the plan and main features this structure resembles another great Dominican church, Sta Maria Novella, at Florence, and is also very similar in many respects to the cathedral of Arezzo.* The transepts are square, each with two chapels on the eastern side, and subsequently-added

* The reader is referred to *The Cathedrals of Central Italy* for illustrations of these two buildings.

chapels at their northern and southern extremities. The choir, formerly square-ended, is of one bay, and terminates in a three-sided apse, and chapels have been added to the nave aisles whereby their original fenestration has been lost. It is vexing how much of the mediæval work is spoiled and concealed by this modernizing process; but in spite of it the stern simplicity of the original church may be easily discerned, and the proportions and the type of the building remain quite undisturbed.

The nave is divided from its aisles by six pointed arches, whose piers show, in section, four half-shafts on a square core. The two longitudinal half-shafts sustain the pier arches, which are broadly pointed and of one plain order only. There is no triforium, but within each arch, formed by the wall ribs of the quadripartite vaulting, is a large circular window of twelve foliations, very similar to those we see in certain Early Gothic churches of the Rhenish provinces, as for instance St Cunibert at Cologne, and St Quirinus at Neuss; but it is probable that all these clerestory windows are restorations. The vaulting ribs have a hollow chamfer on each side, and there are small bosses with shields on them. Unfortunately this really noble series of nave arcades loses much of its dignity by the pavement having been raised, thus concealing a considerable portion of the pier bases. The capitals of the shafts have narrow rows of stiff rude leaves, of a decidedly Classical character, under a hollow-chamfered abacus.

Polychromy has been lavishly applied to the piers, walls and vaults. The soffits of the arches are painted with half-figures and devices, in circular medallions, alternately, the former standing out well from their gold backgrounds, while darker tones in the intervening spaces set off these

enrichments to greater advantage. In the first, third and fifth compartments the groining cells are painted blue, powdered with gold stars, the remaining ones having large seated figures upon blue-and-gold starred grounds. The effect of all this is admirable and free from monotony. The whole of the transverse arches and the diagonal and wall ribs of the vaulting are richly polychromed. There is no tracery in the large cusped circles of the triforium, but a rayonnant character is imparted to them by the stained glass in which the patterns are divided by spokes. On either side of each circular window, but a little lower down, is a quatrefoil containing the painted half-figure of a saint. As at Florence and Arezzo there is no string-course between the point of the pier arch and the clerestory window, an omission which would have a very bald effect had not the painter, with his ever-ready art, somewhat rectified it. The aisles are quadripartitely vaulted in domical oblong bays, which are divided from each other by strongly-developed transverse arches, slightly pointed, and quite plain ; and this vaulting, like that of the transepts, is evidently original. In the aisles the transverse arches and the diagonal ribs are alone coloured, the cells being left white. From every bay of the aisles a Classical chapel opens, of no particular merit but furnished with a tasteful pedimented altar-piece, flanked by Corinthian columns enclosing a picture. The west end of the nave, which externally retains its Italianized character, has a large wheel window, and at the extremity of either aisle is a circular one cusped, like those in the nave clerestory. To the west of the south transept, which as well as the northern one has two bays, though only one vaulting bay, is a fair Pointed door leading to a chapel. The arches

opening into chapels on the eastern sides of the transepts are still left in their revived Italian form, and over one of these arches in either transept, in a balcony supported by figures of angels, is an organ in a Corinthian case, effectively filling up the space between the arch and the vault. Externally the transept roofs are higher than the other arm of the cross, as may be noticed from a height, such as the Tower of the Capitol. In the south chapel of the north transept is the very unworthy monument of the Blessed Angelico of Fiesole—an upright, rudely-incised slab, with the inscription :

"Hic jacet ven. pictor fr. Jo. de. Flor. Ord. P. MCCCCLV.

Non mihi sit laudi quod eram velut alter Apelles,
Sed quod lucra tuis omnia, Christe dabam ;
Altera nam terris opera extant, altera cœlo :
Urbs me Johannem flos tulit Etruriæ."

The bay intermediate between the transept and the apse has, on either hand, a large cusped circle walled up, and above it, within the vaulting arch, a quatrefoiled circle. A similar circle lights the façade of either transept. The apse has three windows of two trefoiled lights supporting a quatrefoiled circle, very similar in motif to those employed by Street in his beautiful groined apse at St Mary Magdalene Paddington. Over each of these windows, but not within the cell of the vault, is an octofoiled circle filled with questionable stained glass. That in the two-light windows below is superior. Here are large single figures of saints whose tinctures recall those in Holiday's windows at the celebrated London church just alluded to, standing against backgrounds of white glass patterned in square quarries. The vaulting ribs of the apse spring

from rather large attached shafts with capitals similar to those in the nave and at the crossing, where the shafts are composed of pilasters with slender shafts niched in them quite in the German fashion. All the vaulting cells here and in the eastern limb are decorated with figures seated on blue grounds.

South-east of the south transept is the most beautiful monument in Sta Maria sopra Minerva, that of William Durandus, already alluded to. The prelate lies on a high tomb which is covered with drapery, and under a canopy formed by a trefoiled Pointed arch under a crocketed pediment. Some angels are holding back a curtain, in order to exhibit the effigy after the manner of many sepulchral monuments of the Middle Ages in Italy. The back wall, under the canopy, is enriched with a mosaic representing the Blessed Virgin and Child enthroned. St Dominic is standing to the left, and a figure, inscribed "S. Privat," standing on the right, is presenting Durandus himself, who is drawn kneeling. Under the high tomb are five shields and this epitaph, which, as it may be of more than ordinary interest to ecclesiologists, I append at full length :

"✠ Hoc est sepulcrum Dni Guilielmi
Durāti epi Mimatensis, Ord. Præd.
Hic jacet egregius Doctor, præsul Mimatensis,
Nomine Duranti Guillelmus : regula morum,
Splendor honestatis, et casti candor amoris,
Altum consiliis speciosum mente serenum
Hunc insignibant : immotus turbine mentis
Mente pius sermone gravis gestuque modestus
Extitit infestus super hostes more leonis :
Indomitus domuit populos, ferroque rebelles
Impulit Ecclesiæ victor servire coœgit.
Comprobat officiis, paruit Romania sceptro

Belligeri comitis Martini tempore quarti.
Edidit ille in jure librum quo jus reperitur
Et *Speculum Juris*, patrum quoque *Pontificale*,
Et *Rationale Divinorum* patefecit.
Instruxit clerum scriptis, monuitque statutis;
Gregorii deni, Nicolai, scita perenni
Glossa diffudit populis, sensusque profundos
Scire dedit mentes corusca luce studentum.
Quem memori laudi genuit Provincia dignum,
Et dedit a Podio Missone diœcesis illum
Inde Bitterrensis, præsignis carica Papæ:
Dum foret ecclesiæ Mimatensis sede quietus
Hunc vocat octavus Bonifacius; altius illum
Promovet: hic renuit Ravennæ præsul haberi:
Fit comes invictus simul hinc et marchio tandem
Et Romam rediit; Domini sub mille trecentis
Quatuor amotis annis; tumulante Minerva:
Subripit hunc festiva dies et prima Novembris,
Gaudia cum Sanctis tenet Omnibus inde sacerdos,
Pro quo perpetuo datur hac celebrare capella.

"✠ Johs. filius Māgri Cosmati fec. hoc. op. (*Camillus Ceccarini restaurari fecit Anno Domini*, 1817)."

The family of Cosmati were all mosaicists. The *Magister*, the father of John, was Adeodatus, a pupil of Giacomo da Turrita.

Sta Maria sopra Minerva possesses another treasure in the shape of an exquisite picture by Benozzo Gozzoli (1400-78), the only specimen of that artist's work in any Roman church. Forming the altar-piece of the chapel of the SS. Annunziata and Sta Maria, it commemorates the founding in 1460 of the Annunziata Confraternity for the annual endowing of young girls, a charity still, I believe, liberally exercised, and due to the Cardinal Torquemada, whose tomb is in this chapel. The subject is twofold—one of the earliest examples of such objectionable novelty in art-treatment — namely, the Annunciation,

together with the presentation of several young girls to the Madonna, by that Cardinal, their benefactor, who kneels with his *protégées*, holding a purse in his hand, before the Virgin Mother.

This much-prized picture is rarely to be seen unveiled, except on the festival when these dowries are given, the 25th of March. In the same Dominican church is an interesting fresco series by Filippo Lippi (1460-1505), on the walls of a chapel founded in honour of St Thomas Aquinas, by Cardinal Caraffa, where stands the splendid monument of Paul IV., and on a tablet in which we read the bull of Alexander VI. (1493) granting plenary indulgence to all the faithful who visit this chapel either on St Thomas's Day or on the Festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.

Over the altar is the Annunciation, a picture in which conventionalism is carried to an offensive extent that disregards all sacred proprieties, for the Madonna absolutely turns away from the angel who is addressing her, and gives her attention *exclusively* to the group of St Thomas and the Cardinal Caraffa, who kneels before her on the other side, the Saint presenting his devotee. The Assumption, occupying the wall above, is a theatrical and utterly undevotional picture, in which the angels seem to be dancing, and the attitude of St Mary, as she ascends on clouds, is that of a stage-performer.

Far superior is the other great fresco, on one side, the finest work by Lippi in Rome, known as the "Disputa" of St Thomas Aquinas; that Saint being here seen on an elevated throne between four allegoric female figures, setting his feet on a prostrate form in oriental costume, supposed to be the Arabian philosopher Averroes, whose

writings were deemed a perilous source of heretical notions in the thirteenth century. In front are numerous figures intended for teachers and disciples, and in the midst are several books laid upon the ground. On one of these we read, beneath a dogmatic sentence, " Error Arii " ; on another, " Error Sabelli " ; on an open book in the hand of St Thomas, over the words, " Sapientiam sapientiorum perdam " ; and on a scroll below the prostrate philosopher's figure, " Sapientia vincit malitiam." Above this picture is another in a lunette presenting an allegory of the discomfiture of Moslem superstition by Orthodoxy ; St Thomas kneels at one side, and a stately matron (perhaps intended to represent the Church) orders the expulsion of a man in oriental dress, by her attendants, from the threshold of a sacred building.

CHAPTER II

Some Renaissance Churches of Rome

THERE seems to be grounds for the belief that the Rome of the fifteenth century, at least up to the date when Martin V. made his first public entry (22nd Sept. 1420), after his election at Constance, was in a state of decay, moral and material, that had reduced her to a lower level than almost any other capital of Western Europe. Anarchy, enfeebled government, and consequent impoverishment, during the long period of the schism of the Antipopes, had left their effects in the blighted social condition of a depressed and miserable people, as well as in the material ruin that perhaps at this, rather than any other epoch, might have justified Byron's simile—the "lone mother of dead empires"—and the widowed queen of the ancient world. Platina draws the picture of the desolation in which Pope Martin found the capital that for so many years had never seen her pontifical sovereign. "He found this city so ruinous as not to have any more the aspect of a city, but rather of a desert; there were seen houses falling into decay, churches dilapidated, streets deserted, highways covered with mud and scarcely traceable; the whole place afflicted by penury and a want of all things necessary; in effect, no sign of civilization, no indication of the life of a civilized people." Even later, during the renewed exile of the Pontiff and his court for more than nine years, after the compulsory flight of Eugenius IV.,

Rome fell into a state so wretched that our chronicler says she "had become like a village of cowherds; and where now are seen the shops of merchants were then kept sheep and cattle"; adding that, after a better day had dawned, one of the signs of improvement was a change of dress as well as manners; the poor people now laying aside their *capperoni* (a rustic mantle with a hood) for something more in conformity with urban fashions. The above-named Popes, Martin and Eugenius, and, later, Sixtus IV., exerted themselves much to restore or embellish. Platina attests of the first that "the good Pontiff, moved by the calamities of his subjects, directed his mind to the improvement of his city and reforming of manners; at last was a new face presented by the convalescent, and hence did Rome not only call him her supreme Pontiff, but also the Father of his country"—*patriæ parentem.* One of his worthiest successors, Pius II., writing when known to the world as Æneas Silvius Piccolomini,* applies to Eugenius IV. the title, "Reparator ædificiorum urbis"—which that Pope certainly endeavoured, but had little opportunity, to deserve; and Sixtus IV. merits commendation for his edict (1477) forbidding, under pain of excommunication, the then frequent and truly Vandalic practice of despoiling churches, even basilicas, of their rich marbles, porphyry, etc., for private use—a prohibition which Urban VIII. found it necessary to renew at a date when civilization was

* This pontiff passed some time in England before his elevation to the papal chair. Sojourning at York about the year 1430, soon after the central tower of the minster had been finished, he describes that church as "worthy to be noted throughout the world (*toto orbe memorandum*) for its size and architecture; with a very light chapel (*sacellum lucidissimum*)—(the Chapter House or the lesser transept?) whose glass walls rise between very slender clustered columns."

much more advanced, namely, in 1640. It was amidst the depressed circumstances of the fifteenth century that a literature sprang up at Rome illustrative of the city and her monuments, giving a direction to mind since followed with such abundance of results.

One of the first antiquarian descriptions of the capital of the Popes was the "Roma Ristorata" drawn up by Flavio Biondo, early in the fifteenth century; and we cannot repress astonishment in perusing his pages when we learn how vast the extent of ruins, how imposing the aspect of many monuments since his time totally swept away. Great indeed must have been the demolition, and the sacrifice of the antiques, deemed requisite by those who undertook to restore this capital so lamentably decayed at the beginning of the epoch here in question. With Flavio Biondo we must commend Eugenius IV. for the freeing of the Pantheon by the demolishing of the mean tenements that had been intruded into the intercolumniation of its noble portico. To the same Pope was due the restoration of the Lateran palace; to him and his immediate successors that of several churches; and to Alexander VI. the addition of imposing buildings still seen at the Vatican palace, the restoration, for military purposes, of the mausoleum of Hadrian, besides other fortifications founded or repaired. Marliano in his *Romæ Topographia* (1534) informs us that "every Cardinal's house was a tower," *i.e.*, a castle; and we may conclude that the latter half of the sixteenth century is the date at which the more cheerful aspects at this centre began to appear. The population, reduced to 17,000 during the papal sojourn at Avignon, had risen to 40,000 before Leo X. was elected, and was left at 90,000 by that pontiff at his death;

but it was not till 1702 that the census began to be annually taken by official means, an improvement due to the intelligence of Clement XI.

We now approach the last period in the history of art in Rome before the confirmed Italian began to announce itself in every walk, or the corruption of taste to be especially manifest in all the forms of artistic creation appropriated to sacred uses. The first indications of a change, gradually alienating from the higher and purer models, appear rather earlier in Rome than in other Italian capitals ; but there is a wide difference between the works of the fifteenth and those of the latter half of the sixteenth century ; nor did that renaissance which sprang from paganism of feeling manifest itself in the days of Raffaele and Bramante as in those of Guido and Bernini. The Rome of Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. had a school distinguished by worthier qualities than that under the reign of Paul V., and the last additions to St Peter's, the modernized exteriors of the great basilicas, the tasteless transformation, especially of the Lateran, indicate the last stage in the decline of sacred architecture.

The antecedent change in that architecture, first apparent in Rome during the fifteenth century, is characterized by other, and some commendable, features, among which may be pointed out the façades with flat pilasters rising to the entire height, the cornices carried along the sky-line, and the triangular or pyramidal front ; the sculptured ornaments, trophies, emblems, etc., in low relief around doorways, the groined vault substituted for the richly-ornamented flat wooden ceiling, and the quadrate pilasters, sometimes with half-columns resting against them, the capitals (always in antique style) that

support round-headed arches, and the introduction of the cupola, succeeding to the fine old belfry towers, a novelty first displayed in a good example at Sant' Agostino (1488). Almost all public buildings in this city of the time of Sixtus IV. were assigned to the Florentine architect, Baccio Pintelli. To him are due the designs for the principal church of the Augustinians, raised by the Cardinal d'Estonteville, protector of that order, Sta Maria del Popolo, rebuilt from its foundations in 1477 ; * the façade of San Pietro in Montorio, founded by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain to honour the supposed site of St Peter's martyrdom (1500) ; the pillared atria of SS. Apostoli and San Pietro in Vinculis ; Sta Maria della Pace, built by Sixtus IV. in gratitude for the peace recently effected between the Italian states, which he ascribed to the intercessions of the Madonna in answer to his prayers before an image here enshrined ; also that chapel of the Vatican called " Sistine," from the same Pope, its founder (1473), which cannot be said to have any architectural character, except in so far as it presents appropriate surfaces for pictorial decoration. In 1473 the ancient Dominican church, San Sisto on the Appian Way, and in 1485 the Franciscan, Aracœli on the Capitol, were restored or

* Among the many and beautiful works of art enshrined in this church is some painted glass of the Cinquecento—a rarity in Rome. It was executed for Pope Julius II. by one of the founders of a northern school of glass-painting in Italy—Guillaume de Verdun, whose life has been written by Vasari under the name of Guglielmo da Marcilla. Marseilles was, however, not his birthplace. His family was of Verdun in Eastern France. To this Frenchman is due the last development of a good school of this art in Italy. He worked at his art throughout, made the cartoons, translated his subject into glass, and even attended to the setting of the leads. Some of Guillaume de Verdun's most admired work is in the windows on the south side of the nave of Arezzo Cathedral.

reconstructed; besides which, allowing myself to diverge a little from my immediate subject, I may mention a good example, due also to the architect Pintelli, in the small cathedral of Ostia, built by the Cardinal Bishop, who became Pope, as Julius II., with façades of graceful character; also at the town of Vicovoro, near Tivoli, the collegiate church and the baptistery, an octagon of Italian Gothic style, rich in sculptured ornament, both by Simona, a Florentine, the pupil of Brunelleschi.

I may allude especially, as rich in the finer examples of fifteenth-century scuplture, and in monuments where affecting and serene devotional feeling are combined with Classic detail, and a taste that adumbrates the Renaissance, to the Augustinian churches Sta Maria del Popolo, and Sant' Agostino; to the Dominican Sta Maria sopra Minerva, and to the Franciscan Aracœli; also to Sta Cecilia in Trastevere, and Sta Maria del Priarata, the now desecrated church of the Knights of Malta, on the Aventine, entered from a pleasant garden, that officially belongs to the Grand Prior, always a Cardinal, of that now almost forgotten, but in Rome still wealthy, order. The monumental sculptures within these silent walls are invested with a certain romance and chivalry accordant with their associations, and are all of the period now under review.

The tombs, those of Bartolommeo Caraffa, Grand Master, and Senator of Rome (d. 1405); of Ricciardo Caracciolo, Grand Master; and of Scripando (d. 1465), a knight distinguished in his military career, are all enriched with portrait statues and ornaments in relief. Another in the same church, of a bishop named Spinelli, is nothing else than a pagan sarcophagus, on which the prelate's figure, holding a scroll, is introduced, among

those of Minerva, the Muses, Homer and Pythagoras. Singular example of Paganism in the Middle Ages! Singular example of the departure from even the Christian range of subjects among those admissible on the Christian tomb!

I should weary the patience of my readers were I to dwell further, in order to illustrate the subject before me, upon the general characteristics of, or the religious feeling expressed in, the monumental art of this period, so far as it touches Rome. But I may just glance at the admirable conciseness of the lapidary style, the deeply devotional meaning, with classic brevity of phrase, the epitaphs on many monuments to prelates or cardinals, bearing dates that bring them within these limits; for instance, I have a particular liking for one in Sta Sabina—"Ut moriens viveret, vixit ut moriturus."

More beautiful perhaps than the above-mentioned is another class of sculptures, well illustrated in the churches of Rome, and in which the artists of the dawn of the Renaissance excelled—the marble altar-piece or tabernacle, usually of the Classical-architectonic character in design, and adorned with statuettes, low reliefs, and a profusion of chiselled decorative details. In the central panels of these *instrumenta ecclesiastica* some principal groups are ordinarily introduced, such as the Madonna and Child, with saints, or other suitable subject, in relief. On lateral pilasters we find statuettes of saints in arched niches, and on the pediment some dominating figure of still more exalted dignity, as the First Person of the Blessed Trinity giving benediction with a globe in one hand. For good examples of this class we may turn to that church so rich in Early Renaissance art, Sta Maria del

Popolo, where, in a chapel of the southern aisle, we find an admirable altar-piece, with figures of St Catherine, St Antony of Padua, and St Vincent, with, above them, the Annunciation, in low relief, and on the tympanum the Supreme Being in the act of blessing.

In the corridor leading to the sacristy of the same church is a finely-treated Coronation of the Virgin Mary, on the finial of a Gothic pinnacle—this is from the more ancient church built in the thirteenth century; also another tabernacle with charming statuettes of the Virgin, SS. Augustine and Catherine, a donation made to the Augustinians in 1488 by a person named Pereira. In the sacristy is shown a larger and richer tabernacle, presented to this church by Alexander VI. when he was cardinal, and originally used as the shrine for the picture of the Madonna over the high altar, ascribed to St Luke, though now containing another such picture, more modern, from the hand of some artist of the Giotto school. This marble shrine is adorned with statuettes of St Peter and St Paul (who hold the keys and the sword), St Jerome and St Augustine. Above, in relief, we see the half-figure of the Deity, with angels, the ornamentation on the flat surfaces being exquisite.

A church, now unfrequented, San Cosimato, now belonging to a convent of nuns of the order of Sta Chiara, and formerly a Benedictine abbey, rebuilt from its foundations by Sixtus IV. in 1475, presents some good details in the usual style of this period on its small façade, and contains one of the finest examples of the sculptured tabernacle, removed hither from the Cybo chapel of Sta Maria del Popolo. This beautifully-finished work is referred to the latter years of the fifteenth century, but by what

artist is unknown : on the central panel are the Virgin and Child attended by angels, by the Apostle Bartholomew, who holds a flaying knife, the emblem of his martyrdom, and another saint (probably Laurence), who presents to the Madonna a kneeling cardinal, the donor of this art work, no doubt, and himself of the Cybo family ; in niches on lateral pilasters are statuettes of Faith, Hope, Charity and Justice, in which a serene grace is blended with genuine dignity, and the ideal character worthily conceived. The epigraph below, " Sanctæ M̄artyri Christi Severæ," leads us to infer that this tabernacle was destined for some relics or else to surmount an altar dedicated in the name of Sta Severa.

One of the most engaging characteristics of the churches built in the Italian cities between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries is their wonderful variety of plan, governed—like those of Wren in the City of London—in no small degree by the site upon which the church was to be built. If the ground would permit, it was a repetition on a small scale of St Peter's at Rome ; that is to say, the plan would be rectangular, the nave and transepts forming the cross, and the intersection being crowned by a dome, with the aisles utilized as chapels. The eastern limb of the cross was invariably very short, and terminated most frequently in an apse, though not seldom it is rectangular. If the site would not permit of a Latin cross it was made either circular or octagonal, with all the outlying corners utilized as sacristies and offices, which in most cases were ingeniously dealt with, only we must bear in mind that it must have a cupola.

Rome being surrounded by a wall, the value of the land was increased to such an extent that the churches as a rule

were packed in between a host of dwellings, in such a manner as to deprive us of forming an idea of what the external architecture of these churches might have been had circumstances permitted the architect the indulgence of an undisputed area. This misfortune accounts for the unsightliness of many of these Renaissance church exteriors in such cases as Sant' Andrea della Valle in Rome and Sant' Ambrogio at Genoa, where the abutting houses have been pulled down ; for the conspicuous absence of side windows, and the recourse to top lighting. If this assumption is correct, I must only repeat the old adage that " out of evil comes good," for we must all admit that the most satisfactory method of illuminating a large building is either by obtaining light from above, or by some large opening over the entrance end, upon whose façade the architect lavished the most pains. In the south of Europe this question is more easily disposed of than is possible in the City of London, in consequence of the brilliancy of the atmosphere with which the former is favoured. I do not hesitate to say that did our own St Paul's, with its cupola, exist in Italy, the mosaics with which it is designed to be covered would be fully seen and appreciated, but that I fear they will for the greater part of the year be lost in a region of darkness.

The usual method of covering the churches built in Rome during the epoch of the Renaissance was to give them a waggon-headed ceiling of concrete, penetrated by smaller jack-vaults, a necessity caused by the clerestory windows. Now this arrangement of covering the nave gave the architect a considerable amount of responsibility and also anxiety in consequence of the immense lateral thrust exercised by the vault, for it must be remembered that the

builders of that age had not the opportunity of using Portland cement, but were confined to the ordinary lime and pozzolana and thin brick in use then, about 1¼ inch to 1½ inch thick; with these materials it was necessary that the vaulting should be of great thickness, so as to secure additional strength and stability.

In one case, where the opportunity was afforded me of making an examination of the material itself, I found it composed of a coarsely-made concrete, 2 feet thick at the crown, instead of the usual norm, 7 inches. Notwithstanding this great thickness of material there was a rent running the whole length of the nave, threatening the total destruction of the building, and, to prevent such a catastrophe, the springing of the vault was secured by wrought-iron ties, 3 inches square on section.

My appreciation of many of the great monuments of Revived Italian architecture enumerated in the foregoing and briefly described in the ensuing pages, is as great as that for those of the Middle Ages; but enthusiasm is damped when, after beholding such façades as those of the cathedrals of Assisi, Ferrara and Spoleto, of SS. Niccolo and Michele in Borgo at Pisa, and of San Francesco at Orvieto, one enters these buildings to find them transmuted into Corinthian and what not; sometimes well, but as often as not very ill done. Doubly vexatious, however, is it when we see what must have been a most noble and solemn Romanesque interior, such, for instance, as that of San Gregorio at Spoleto, twisted and tortured into a semblance of "Ionic." France has escaped this pernicious practice in a wonderful degree—even the southern parts of that country where Italian influence might have been expected to manifest itself; but in Southern

Germany and Belgium many a fine round-arched or Pointed Gothic interior has succumbed to the barbarian of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the former country such sad examples as the cathedrals of Aschaffenburg, Freising, Fulda, Hildesheim and Würzburg must be held up as particularly contemptible illustrations of covering the interior of a Gothic church with a Pompadour mask; whilst in Belgium, the interiors of St Barthelemi at Liege, Ste Gertrude at Nivelles, and the Dominican church at Louvain, are, as far as their original aspect goes, perfect wrecks.

If in England at the present day we are allowed the use of such widely-differing models, it is hard to see why we should have so long been restricted to those styles which have been named Gothic for ecclesiastical architecture. The Italian Gothic, though it often exhibits great beauty of detail, does not appear to have been capable of producing anything remarkable for grandeur or beauty of design. The Italians themselves seem to have perceived this, for they employed foreign architects for some of their most important works, such as the cathedral of Milan and the church of St Francis at Assisi. It was natural that they should wish to get rid of the foreign style which they had failed to make their own, and that in making a fresh beginning they should take the ancient architecture of Italy as their *point de départ.*

The Italian Renaissance, therefore, is a movement particularly worthy of study, being of the same kind as the Gothic Revival of the last century. The circumstances under which it arose, it is true, were very different. The state of architecture in Italy, previous to the Renaissance, though unsatisfactory, was vastly better than in England at

the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Roman style, moreover, upon which the Italians fell back, had never attained to any such perfection as had the Gothic in later times. Still it was, perhaps more than any other, the style of the country, and had so far advanced as to show that it was capable of further development. The fault which ruined the Renaissance appears to have been that which was at one time so common amongst Gothic architects of the Revival, the following too closely the forms of ancient architecture. Some of the earlier buildings of the Renaissance are treated with as much freedom, and perhaps as much beauty of design and detail as most Gothic buildings.

It is not fair to judge the Renaissance by buildings erected in England under its influence. It did not much affect England until its best days were past. It was originated by a people with whom we had little in common. If the Italians had not been successful in naturalizing the Gothic style, the northern races could not be expected to be so expert as the Italians in their own style. Still, France contains some very beautiful examples of it, and Germany one of unrivalled magnificence in the Castle of Heidelberg.

The low state into which the art had fallen was not the result of the introduction of Italian forms, but of the fashion of seeking antiquarian correctness. An art whose principal merit is to imitate closely the works of a former period can have but little vitality, whether the *motifs* are Classical or Mediæval. But it may be said that the Renaissance was antiquarian in its origin, being the result of the revival of classical learning. So it was, probably, to some extent, and so was the Gothic revival. The works of

Sir Walter Scott tended to turn the tide of popular taste in the direction of the Middle Ages, and to vindicate that portion of our history from the imputation of barbarism, which it was the fashion of the eighteenth century to lay upon it. Owing in a great degree to his example, it became the fashion to study and admire what had for nearly two centuries merely been despised as the works of a barbarous age. But the Renaissance in its earlier days did not by any means work in an antiquarian spirit. Forms borrowed from antiquity were used, but they were used with no regard to how the ancients used them; their present purpose was alone thought of.

The advocates of the Pointed styles sometimes assert other claims for their acceptance besides their intrinsic merit. It is called Christian architecture, and for that reason it is urged that it should be universally adopted.

It was invented and practised by Christians, but so was the Renaissance; but there is nothing distinctively Christian in the style itself. Sculpture and painting may express the religious feeling of the artist; and even in architecture some points of design or arrangement may be intentionally symbolical; but it is not easy to understand how strictly architectural forms can be invested with a theological character.

If Gothic were really a more Christian style than Renaissance or Greek that might be a good reason for its use as an ecclesiastical style; but it is doubtful whether it would render it more in character with the purposes to which most modern secular buildings are applied. At any rate it is not likely at the present to gain *general* acceptance on that ground.

The argument that Gothic is our own national style, and that Renaissance is an importation, goes for little ; for both the Pointed and the Round-arched style which preceded it, and from which it grew, were imported from France ; though both, it is true, were thoroughly naturalized. If it were otherwise, it might be said that we have now much more in common with other European nations than with our ancestors of three or four centuries back.

Still, waiving considerations of sentiment, it must be admitted that our own Mediæval architecture has this special claim upon our attention, that it is *the* style, and the *only* one in which Englishmen had, until within the last few years, attained to great perfection—I say until within the last few years, because, since the revival in our midst of the true principles of the Renaissance, many of our works produced in that style are unequalled by their compeers on the Continent.

The failure of the Italians, and the indifferent success of the Southern French in making the Gothic style their own, seems to show that certain models of architecture are capable of development only by certain nations ; and that we are therefore more likely to be successful in founding a style upon the models which our ancestors have left us than upon those of foreign countries.

Cinque-Cento, though by virtue of its Gothic element far more beautiful, is even less satisfactory than confirmed Italian ; the latter is at least consistent in its Paganism and suggests nothing better, it conveys no idea of contrast, struggle, or victory. Cinque-Cento has just sufficient excellence to make us feel more acutely the deficiency of greater excellence ; it suggests the existence of a severe struggle in which the better cause has been defeated.

The men who won such a victory, the Italian builders of the fifteenth century, were not adversaries to be despised. Great as we may hold the misapplication of their powers to have been, it would be folly to attempt to deny their existence. In fact, the thorough corruption of the taste of an age or nation—if indeed the substitution of the antique in its first Italian form for such a style as the local Gothic could be called a corruption—is an achievement requiring no less mental vigour than its direction in a better path. No name in architectural history can claim a higher place on the score of mere genius than that of Filippo Brunelleschi. To him is owing that glorious and wonderful monument of the sublimest powers, the dome of Florence Cathedral, which for vastness and grandeur, for greatness of conception and skill of execution, must rank among the very noblest of human achievements. I allude especially to the stupendous majesty of that vast octagon, with the subordinate apses and domes at once supporting it and cowering beneath its shadow. This dome of Florence remains literally "the roof and crown of things," being in all dimensions the largest mass ever reared upon piers and arches, and rearing the triumphant cross to a height equal to that of the proudest steeples of the north. Before so marvellous a pile one does not stop to inquire whether Greek columns, Lombard arcades, or Flamboyant panelling enrich its vast circumference; it stands in its own unrivalled sublimity, the first and foremost of buildings of its own class, before which the boasted one of St Peter's sinks into insignificance. Greater in every proportion, and with the superadded richness of the octagonal form, the Florence dome is the most wonderful exhibition of mechanical skill, and one of the most glorious

products of architectural genius that the world has ever seen.

Brunelleschi died in 1444. The same Cinque-Cento style, with all its multiplicity of small columns and infinitesimal divisions of parts, and the barbaric richness which is thus derived from its best specimens, continued in use in Italy throughout the century from which it takes its name. Towards its close Bramante, another instance of the misapplication of splendid powers, employed the same style, and reared in 1496 the magnificent polygonal dome of Sta Maria delle Grazie at Milan, whose drum is decorated with arcades. Michael Angelo was the first to discard the Cinque-Cento, and with it the multiplying principal, and return to the single colossal order.

The Renaissance architects of Italy were extreme mannerists; but besides the manner of the school, each had his own peculiarities; so that there exists in their works what may almost be called monotonous variety. Brunelleschi's designs are distinguished by a degree of simplicity and comparative good taste, which causes regret that he had not referred more to the remains of antiquity in Italy, and sought out those of Greece, and attended less to the dogmas of Vitruvius, for then his productions would have had more elegance, and the school he founded would have done him more honour.

The works of Bramante possess a more classical character than those of any other architect of the school. His design for St Peter's at Rome was preferred by Pope Julius II. to a great many others by the most celebrated men of his time.

He it was who suggested the cupola; but, unfortunately, after his death, men of less taste and ability were

allowed to alter his design, and the edifice is very different from what it would have been had Bramante's been adhered to. This we must judge from his works generally, and not from any positive knowledge of the design, which indeed does not exist.

The elder Sangallo was far inferior to his contemporary and rival, Bramante, and his works are full of all the faults of the school.

Michael Angelo was a man of great genius, but of coarse taste in architecture ; and to him may be attributed many of the coarser qualities of the Italian style. Sansovino and San Michele were men of considerable talent, and their works display more originality and less servility than those of most of their contemporaries. Palladio very much affected the study of the antique, but his works indicate but little appreciation of its beauties. Giacomo della Porta, a contemporary of Palladio, was much employed in Rome ; and it fell to him, in conjunction with Domenico Fontana, to put the dome on St Peter's.

Other architects of the Early and Mid-Renaissance were Giralome da Brescia, Andrea Marone, Vitone (a pupil of Bramante), Galeasso Alessi, Pellegrini, Vignola and Battista Lantani.

Passing on to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we find the Lunghi, father, son and grandson ; the Rainaldi ; Maderno, Borromini ; Bernini, Carlo Fontana ; Fuga and Vanvitelli. These and many others carried the peculiarities of the Italian school to the greatest extremes. Of those enumerated, Bernini was perhaps the least offensive, and Borromini the most extravagant ; but throughout that period, except in extreme cases, the individual

manner is less distinguishable, and that of the school more strongly marked.

In concluding these remarks, prefatory to descriptions of a few of the more remarkable churches built in Rome under the Renaissance, I may be allowed to say that I am fully aware of the need of being careful; the more so as I labour under the entirely undeserved reputation of being a blind admirer of everything Northern and Mediæval, with how much, or rather how little justice, those who have perused the few preceding pages will be able to decide.

Sta Agnese, Piazza Navona

This church is built on the spot where St Agnes is said to have been publicly exposed after her torture, and to have struck with blindness the first person who saw her degradation. An excellent example of the Greek cross plan, it was entirely rebuilt in 1642 by the princes of the Pamfili family, from the designs of Girolamo Rainaldi, and is generally regarded as his *chef d'œuvre*. The façade and the cupola are the work of Bernini. The former is flanked by campanili, rising in two stages above the balustrade, and in some features recall those of St Paul's Cathedral, but their contour is hardly so elegant. They are circular, with four groups of coupled composite columns. The lantern surmounting the central cupola is very graceful, the corner columns imparting an interesting outline to it.

Internally Sta Agnese Navona is rich in varied marbles, all disposed with that taste so common in works of its period, the columns supporting the four great arches of the dome being composed of red Cotanella.

The arm containing the high altar is rectangular, and the columns of its reredos are Composite ones of dark green marble. Each of the altars in the compartments formed by the four arms of the cross has a reredos from the chisel of some distinguished sculptor, and another work of the same kind, but of higher pretensions, by Algardi, is in the subterranean chapel. The same criticism may be passed upon all of them, that they overstep the modesty of sculpture. They aim at the illusions of perspective, and light and shade. In short, they try to be pictures, and cannot; and form a sort of hybrid in art between sculpture and wax-work. The cupola was painted by Cira Ferri and his pupil, Corbellini, the lunettes by Baciccio. The tomb of Innocent X. over the entrance is by Maini. By Algardi is the bas-relief over the altar in the subterranean chapel, the supposed site of the martyrdom of St Agnes. In a recess behind the high altar, entered from near the chapel of Sta Cecilia, is the sepulchral chapel, erected about half a century ago, of the Princess Mary Talbot Doria, our countrywoman. She died in 1857, and for many years was one of the brightest ornaments of the aristocratic circle in her adopted country. The handsome monument which covers her remains was the work of Tenerani.

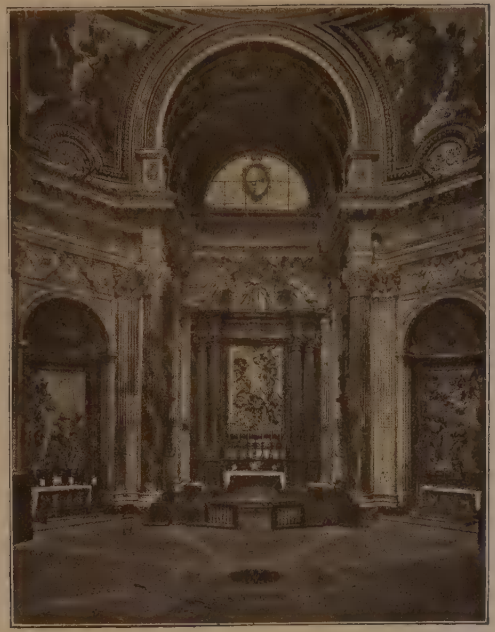
Sant' Andrea della Valle

This church, which adjoins the relics of the theatre of Pompey, is one of the best specimens of the confirmed Italian style in Rome. The designs were furnished by Olivieri in 1591, but finally carried out by Carlo Maderno,

the façade being a later addition of Carlo Rainaldi. The plan of this church, together with its dimensions, are similar to that of the Oratory at Brompton built about thirty years ago from the designs of the late Mr H. A. Gribble. It is a most noble and attractive building, not only from its agreeable proportions, but also from the wealth of its decorative treatment, where the skill and ability of the most distinguished architects and artists extant at the time were displayed. The fitting up of the first chapel on the right was entrusted to Fontana, and that adjoining it to Michael Angelo. The cupola is one of the most beautiful in Rome and springs from a base similar to that of Sant' Ignazio and the Gesu, being built on an irregular octagon with the oblique sides filled up solid. The chapels adjoining the dome piers are contracted, an expedient no doubt to give strength to the piers supporting the cupola.

The order of Sant' Andrea della Valle is an admixture of the Corinthian and the Composite, and the plan includes a three-bayed nave with short transepts and an eastern limb terminating in an apse. The wall of the latter is divided into three very large compartments enriched with as many paintings by il Calebrese representing scenes from the martyrdom of St Andrew, viz., his crucifixion; reception of the crown of martyrdom from angels, and his burial. Between the nave arcade and the cupola, on either side of the church, is a low arch, above which are two of the Papal tombs removed from the ancient St Peter's. The tombs, those of Pius II. and Pius III., by two sculptors, pupils of Paolo Romano, are mentioned by Vasari in his life of that artist, and are examples of the breaking up into minute parts, story above story, of small reliefs and

ROME: SANT' ANDREA DELLA VALLE.



ROME: INTERIOR OF STA. AGNESE, PIAZZA NAVONA.

statuettes, by no means among the commendable characteristics of monumental art in the fifteenth century. These tombs of two Popes, both of the Piccolomini family, were transferred to Sant' Andrea, because that church occupies the site of their forefathers' palace—not, indeed, their birthplace, both being of Siena.

A more praiseworthy art-work of this period is the monument of Eugenius IV., with a dignified recumbent statue, and reliefs of saints on lateral pilasters, in a chapel, long desecrated, off the cloister of San Salvatore in Lauro. This is one of the few extant sculptures by Isaia da Pisa, a once admired artist, to whom posterity has been indeed unjust, seeing that his masterpiece, a relief of the " translation " of the body of Sta Monica from Ostia to Rome, in 1483, above the altar where those relics still lie at San Agostino, was deliberately taken to pieces, and its fragments sold to a stone-cutter in 1760.

Recurring to Sant' Andrea della Valle, we must observe the interior of the cupola, one of the most beautiful in Rome. It was painted by Lanfranco, and the work to which he devoted four years, after a long study of Correggio's cupola at Padua, is considered one of his most successful productions ; indeed, the glory which he painted on the centre of the lantern was considered to form an epoch in art. At the four angles are the Evangelists, by Domenichino, to whom is likewise due the subject on the conch of the apse—the apotheosis of St Andrew. Of the Evangelists in the cupola, the St John is an admirable figure, powerfully coloured and beautiful in expression. Amidst the outcry against these frescoes Domenichino is said to have visited them some time after their execution, and to have said, " Non mi pare d'esser tanto cattivo." Lanzi, speaking

of the Evangelists, says that, "after a hundred similar performances, they are still looked up to as models of art."

Sant Ignazio

Designed by Padre Oratio Grassi, and commenced in 1626, this church is one of the most important in Rome, and belongs to the order of Jesuits, having an internal length of 270 feet, with a nave 60 feet wide and 100 feet high.

It is very simple, the cross being formed by the nave and transepts. In each aisle are three chapels, with two additional ones on either side of the sanctuary, all crowned with a small cupola. The pilasters in the nave are of the Corinthian order, fluted, and rest on the floor, not on pedestals, an arrangement succeeding remarkably well in a church of a country where fixed benches and pews are practically unknown. The arches, which communicate with the chapels, spring from detached columns, and, if memory serves aright, there are only two solitary instances of this arrangement among the vast number of churches raised in Rome during the Revived Classical period. The usual custom is to make the arches spring from imposts, as in St Paul's Cathedral, but the architect of Sant Ignazio did not do as Wren did, and cut away his architraves to give room for the arch; but on the contrary he kept them below the necking of the capitals of the principal order. Some architectural critics regard this as unfortunate, for were the arch increased in height, the keystone could be so arranged as to seem to support the centre weight of the architrave. Sant Ignazio, though originally intended to be

graced with a cupola, still remains without one. *Pro tanto*, the area is covered with a vault of the section of a watch glass—"saucer dome" is, I believe, the technical expression—upon which Andrea Pozzo painted a perspective view of the interior of a dome. This design and perspective drawing of the cupola is not the only relic in Sant Ignazio of the above-named artist's talent, as the high altar, and that in the left-hand transept, together with two others in the aisles, and also the decoration of the nave ceiling, are the fruits of his ability.

Il Gesu

This church is close to the Corso, and a little north of the Capitoline Hill. It is similar in plan to Sant Ignazio, and was commenced in 1575, from the designs of Vignola, but the façade and cupola were the work of Giacomo della Porta. The length of this grandiose specimen of Revived Classical is about 200 feet, the width of the nave about 50 feet, and the height about 90, all of which proportions may be pronounced very pleasing. Nor is the colour scheme less satisfactory, marble and scagliola playing an important part in its interior decoration. One of the principal objects of attraction here is the altar of St Ignatius, designed by the Andrea Pozzo alluded to in the description of the church dedicated to that saint. It is chiefly of polished marbles of the rarest description, with a large central niche containing a statue of St Ignatius, and adorned at the top with a marble group emblematical of the Holy Trinity. On each side of the altar are large allegorical groups, also in marble, one representing the Triumph of

Religion over Heresy and the other Christianity embraced by barbarous Nations. These are from the chisels of Theodore and Le Gros. This altar-piece in the Gesu is perhaps the most sumptuous specimen of Jesuit architecture of its kind extant.

In the opposite transept is the altar of St Francis Xavier, with a reredos of similar description from the designs of Pietro da Cortona, surmounted, within the broken pediment, by a group representing the Apotheosis of the Apostle of the Indies.

The accompanying illustration of this chastely beautiful altar-piece, together with the organ in the attic of the transept, is taken from a fine pencil drawing by Jourdan, engraved by Bury, and published by Gailhabaud in the fourth volume of his *Monuments Anciens et Modernes*, and conveys a far better idea of the ensemble than a lengthy description.

The broad and lofty nave of the Gesu, and the aisles converted into chapels, introduced a new phase in the development of Roman Catholic church architecture; its architect, Vignola, furnishing the type of the style which prevailed during the following century, especially in the numberless Jesuit churches then built. Together with Borromini, Fontana and Maderno, the architect of Il Gesu was a pioneer in that band of artists who conspired to rob architecture of its fitting repose, and by the introduction of figures posed in startling attitudes, aroused or convulsed by unseen agency, of curves instead of straight lines, of pillar piled upon pillar, substituted a turbulent unrest.

That the style produced a striking and artistic effect there can be no doubt, and one that may appeal to some

Rome : Altar of St. Francis Xavier in Il Gesu.

minds. An undoubted vigour in the disposition of detail, a feeling for vastness and pomp, allied with an internal decoration which spared neither colour nor costly material to secure an effect of dazzling splendour, such are the distinguishing attributes of what may be styled the "baroque" phase of the Classical Revival, as is to be seen in Rome on every hand, in an endless succession of churches, among which may be named Sant' Andrea della Valle, San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, and the one of which the above is some description.

Sta Maria in Vallicella

This grand Renaissance church, better known as the Chiesa Nuova, was founded in 1573 by St Philip Neri, just a century before the commencement of the building of St Paul's Cathedral. It measures 220 feet long and 50 feet broad, is 98 feet high, and one of the most highly-decorated churches in the city, the architect being one Martino Lunghi.

The arrangement of the plan is somewhat different from that usually adopted by the clergy at this period, for instead of the three large chapels which it was customary to form on each side of the nave, there are five comparatively small ones, which suffer from want of light; and the chapels having windows on each side of the altar give an appearance of insecurity, which effect is not perceived when the lighting is obtained from the ceiling or other lofty positions. The cupola of Sta Maria in Vallicella differs in form from that usually adopted in other churches, and is conspicuous by the absence of a drum; but there is one

point that should be noticed in the dome piers of nearly every Roman church surmounted by a cupola. The usual method adopted was so to plan the piers that they should possess the maximum of strength, and to do this pilasters were made very shallow, and the four corners of the square filled up with masonry, giving an occasional splay.

Many architects look upon this arrangement as a misfortune, æsthetically speaking, for if the pilaster project only 12 or 9 inches, and the pendentives spring from plumb over the splayed angle, it allows for the visible arch supporting the cupola only the 12 inches or the 9 inches, which conveys a sense of weakness and looks exceedingly mean. In the case of Sta Maria in Vallicella the architect discovered this when he arrived at the cornice, and instead of making the pendentives to spring from the octagonal corner, he commenced by starting from the inner angle, and so secured an arch of about 2 feet 6 inches deep, and which was his only way out of the difficulty.

This church is very rich in marble veneering, and also in frescoes.

The whole of the floor of nave, aisles and chapels is of polished marble, inlaid with floral patterns; indeed the interior of Sta Maria in Vallicella is one of the most sumptuously fitted and decorated of its age and class in Rome. The nave being separated from the aisles by lofty columns, and the aisles being of the same height as the nave, this Renaissance church has quite the air of a building of Pointed proportions—a German "hall" church for instance—there being no clerestory.

On the Festival of St Philip Neri, 26th May, and after the Ave Maria every Sunday from All Saints' Day to Palm Sunday, selections of sacred music, to which men only are

admitted, are given in the adjoining *oratorium*. From this circumstance the sacred musical drama performed either with or without action derived its name—Oratorio. It was an improvement upon the *Laudi Spirituali*, or sacred songs and dialogues, which used to be sung in the churches of the Congregation of the Oratory—a religious community founded at Rome in 1574 by St Philip Neri, who was extremely musical and advocated a form of divine service more cheerful and popular than that in which the Plain Chant was exclusively used. The word itself, however, as a general appellation of sacred musical drama, does not occur before the year 1630.

It was in 1548 that Philip Neri, a native of Florence, founded at Rome the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity, which originally consisted of but fifteen poor persons who assembled in the church of San Salvatore in Campo every first Sunday in the month to practise the exercises of piety prescribed by the sainted founder. The Pope (Paul III., 1534-50) permitted them to assemble in the church of San Girolamo della Carita, from the *oratorio* or chapel in which church they derived their name. They soon multiplied, and in 1574 the Florentines at Rome, with the permission of Gregory XIII., built a very spacious oratory, in which Neri continued his religious assemblies. The Pope likewise gave him the parochial church of Vallicella, and in the same year approved the constitutions he had drawn up for the government of his congregation, of which St Philip himself was the first general.

This new institute soon made great progress, and divers other establishments were formed on the same model; particularly at Naples, Milan, and Palermo.

The founder having resigned the office of general, he

was succeeded therein by Baronius, who was afterwards promoted to the dignity of a cardinal. Philip Neri died the 26th of May 1595, and was canonized in 1622 by Gregory XV. After his death this congregation made a further progress in Italy, and has produced several cardinals and eminent writers, as Baronius, Odoric Rainaldi, and others.

Sta Maria degli Angeli

This magnificent church occupies the Pinacotheca, or, according to more recent opinions, the Cella Calidaria of the Thermæ of Diocletian, which was altered by Michael Angelo, during the pontificate of Pius IV., to adapt it to Christian worship. It is one of the most imposing churches in Rome. The great hall of the baths was converted by Michael Angelo into a Greek cross by the addition of the present vestibule and of the tribune opposite. Vanvitelli reduced the church to its present form in 1740 by adapting the circular hall, or Laconicum, as an entrance, and lengthening the choir on the opposite side. The hall which Michael Angelo had preserved as a nave was thus converted into a transept ; the chapels opening out of it, in the intervals of the columns, closed up ; and the transepts lengthened by converting into the chapels of the Beato Nicolo Albergati, and of St Bruno, two halls of the baths. On account of the dampness of the ground Michael Angelo was obliged to raise the pavement about 8 feet, so that the original bases of the columns remain buried to that depth, which by the accumulation of the debris of the baths were considerably lower than the circumjacent soil. Of the sixteen Corinthian columns in the church, the eight in the

transept only are antique, and of red Egyptian granite, with attached bases of white marble. The others, of brick covered with stucco and painted in scagliola, but so skilfully that it is fair to say that few could detect any difference between them and the genuine antiques, were added by Vanvitelli. In the circular vestibule are the tombs of Salvator Rosa, of Carlo Maratta, of Cardinal Parisio, professor of jurisprudence at Bologna, and of Cardinal Francesco Alciati, the learned chancellor of Rome under Pius IV. On the tomb of the last-named is the following pithy epitaph :

"Virtute vixit ;
Memoria vivit ;
Gloria vivet."

Salvator Rosa's tomb has an inscription which describes him as the "Pictorum sui temporis nulli secundum, poetarum omnium temporum principibus parem" ; a friendly eulogy, which the judgment of posterity has not endorsed. On one side of the entrance to the great hall is the fine statue of St Bruno by the French sculptor Houdon. Clement XIV. is said to have been a great admirer of this statue, remarking that "it would speak if the rule of his order did not prescribe silence." The hall, now forming the transept of the church, is 297 feet long by 91 wide, and its height is 84 feet ; the length of the present nave from the entrance to the high altar is 336 feet. The monolithic granite columns are each 45 feet high and 16 feet in circumference. These dimensions will give some idea of the colossal proportions of this superb church. The ancient capitals, four Corinthian and four Composite, are of white marble, as is the entablature. Over the arch leading to the

tribune is inscribed " Regina Angelorum " ; and over the altar the following poor couplet :

> " Quod fuit idolum nunc templum est virginis : auctor
> Est Pius ipse pater ; dæmones, aufugite."

In the north wall of the choir there is a grated aperture, through which may be seen a chapel full of relics. A meridian line crosses the church and shows that its orientation is to the north-east. It was traced by Bianchini and Mualdi in 1701.

Sta Maria degli Angeli contains several large and fine paintings which were once altar-pieces in St Peter's, where they have been replaced by copies in mosaic when the originals were transported to this church. The most celebrated amongst them is Domenichino's St Sebastian, on the right hand side of the high altar. It is 22 feet high, and being painted on the wall it was removed with consummate skill by the engineer Zabaglia.

Over against it is Carlo Maratta's Baptism of Our Lord, a fine work of that artist. The other paintings in the choir are the Presentation in the Temple, by Romanelli, and the Death of Ananias by Roncalli. In the transept are eight pictures by various artists, among them being a copy of Guido's Crucifixion of St Peter.

At each extremity of the transept are spacious chapels formed out of the halls of the baths ; that on the right, and which formed the vestibule to Michael Angelo's church, is dedicated to the Beato Niccolo Albergati ; and that on the left to St Bruno, over the altar of which is a painting of St Peter appearing to some Carthusian monks, by Odazzi, and on the sides two, by Trevisani, of the death of the Maccabees.

Standing at the central point, where the lines of the nave and transept cross each other, the effect of the interior of Sta Maria degli Angeli is incomparably fine. The four radiating arms, which here meet and blend, leave the impression of simplicity and regularity, without a formal monotony, and typify the spirit of Christianity which binds together the four corners of the globe by the ties of a common love and a common faith.

Behind the church is the Carthusian convent, founded and endowed by the Orsini family, and enclosing Michael Angelo's celebrated cloister surrounded by a portico carried upon 100 Doric columns of travertine, forming four spacious walks. In the garth are the immense cypresses planted round the fountain by the architect when he built the cloister, and measuring 13 feet in circumference. The "Pope's oil-cellar," as it is called, adjoining the church, is a low-arched hall of the ancient thermæ, containing several cisterns or reservoirs sunk deep in the ground, where the supply of oil for the city is preserved at an equable temperature. There are many other remains of the baths, all of extraordinary scale and magnificence. The masonry is of thin tiles with broad joints, and the walls are full of discharging arches, which are often made with concentric arches of these tiles. The vaulting is, of course, Roman; the diagonals of one bay make a sinuous line if laid down in plan.

CHAPTER III

Some Cathedrals and Churches of Southern Italy

THERE is a vast difference between the buildings in the north and south of Italy, and though the former, as they deserve to be, are more visited and better known, the latter, from their very singularity and quaintness, and from the fact of their having escaped modernization to a far greater extent, may suggest ideas which would never be inspired by examples of a regular type. It is not always the most perfect things which are the most instructive. The faultless beauty of an Amiens, a Cologne or a Salisbury only soothes the mind to repose, while the angularities and discords of a half-formed style set it thinking how to mend them. In this part of Italy we see two styles contending for the mastery, sometimes, it is true, allied, and working together harmoniously, but more often fronting each other, separate and antagonistic. The architects of the east and south of Italy were, in fact, practising an art which, even after their own time, was never really supplanted by Gothic work. Few parts of Europe are more interesting, or have been so inedited. The work we see there is almost as unlike the contemporary work of France, England, Germany or the north of Italy as is that of the Moors executed at the same time in Spain. The churches are the products of Europe and of Asia, of Christianity and Mohammedanism. The former, Romanesque or Early Pointed Gothic, shows itself the stronger ; it subdues the

main forms and shapes to its own will and fashions the constructive details; but every here and there in woodwork, sculpture and cast metal-work, which last, by the way, abounds, its Saracenic rival creeps out, and moulds this or that feature in a way unheard of elsewhere. Not infrequently the mixed detail is very beautiful, while the purely Romanesque carving of the districts is almost always so. Much of it bears a strongly-marked Greek character, combining, in a way that can hardly be imagined from a description, ancient refinement with Mediæval vigour. Further on, in Sicily, into whose architecture the limits of this volume forbid me entering, there is Saracenic architecture in abundance, some of which, coarsely drawn and coloured, is found in Gally Knight's work on the island published early in the last century.

Perhaps one of the best monographs on the architecture of that part of Italy lying south and east of Rome is Schulz's *Denkmaeler der Kunst des Mittalalters* in Unteritalien (Dresden, 1860), but of which no translation has been made that I am aware of.*

The churches are usually cruciform in plan, with a central and two smaller apses, all projecting from the east wall of the transept; and in this respect they appear to owe more to the earliest Roman churches than to any others. Examples of apsidally-ended transepts are rare, but there is, at least, one very singular and interesting one at San Francesco Bari, where on the north and south

* This really excellent work is in three volumes, two of which, in 4to, are devoted to the text, and one, in folio, to the plates; a study of the latter alone will convey a very comprehensive idea of the ecclesiastical architecture of this most interesting region. I would also refer the reader to some valuable articles on the architecture of this part of Italy in the *Builder* for 1904 and 1905.

fronts of the transepts are two contiguous apses rising as high as the walls.

We find the simple basilican plan without transepts in the cathedral at Terracina, in San Gregorio, Bari, the Ognissanti, Trani, Sant' Angelo, Pianella, San Giovanni in Venere, and Sta Maria in Lago, Moscufo ; with transepts, though rarely projecting beyond the line of the nave aisles in the cathedral and San Nicola, Bari, Sta Sabina, Canosa, and the cathedrals of Ruvo, Salerno, Trani and Troja. At the last-named church, and also in the new part of the cathedral at Venosa, the transepts have a much longer projection than is ordinarily the case. A large number of the South Italian churches are parallel-triapsidal in plan ; that is to say, there is, in addition to the choir apse (which is, broadly speaking, universal), an apse on the eastern side of either transept or one at the east end of either aisle.

Of apses in the former situation, San Nicola, Bari, Acerenza, Nola, Otranto, Ruvo, Salerno and Trani cathedrals present examples, while the transeptless parallel-triapsidal plan confronts us in the cathedral of Terracina, and in the churches of Sta Maria in Lago at Moscufo, Sant' Angelo in Formis at Capua, and Sant' Angelo at Pianella.

A cruciform church with a square-ended choir, but with an apse on the eastern side of either transept, is Sta Maria Foggia, in which instance either transept has a western and an eastern aisle—a somewhat exceptional circumstance. At San Pellino we find an apse projecting from the north and south faces of the transepts, but as there is no apse to the eastern limb, the plan of this church cannot be called transverse-triapsidal. At Caserta Vecchia both

transepts and choir are quadrangular. San Nicola at Lecce is a simple parallelogram, nave and aisles ending square and in a line with each other. The same arrangement occurs at Trani, in the church of the Immaculati ; in this case, however, a choir, square-ended, and equal in length to one bay of the nave, projects beyond the line of the aisles. It is interesting to observe that whether the church is cruciform or not, the bay intermediate between the nave and the apse is almost invariably absent from churches in this part of the peninsula, the semicircular termination starting immediately from the eastern piers of the crossing, or from the respond (or half pier) at the eastern extremity of the nave arcade.

There are, however, some instances of more elongated choirs, with aisles, procession-path and chapels opening from it, after the northern manner, among which may be named the cathedrals of Acerenza, Aversa, and Venosa (new cathedral), and the church of Sta Maria, Barletta.

In several of the Apulian churches a very curious arrangement of the east end is observable, in that the apse, generally the most characteristic feature of this part of the building, is concealed on the exterior by a flat wall extending across the whole breadth of the east end, and connecting the flanking towers. In these singular east fronts, of which the most noticeable examples are met with at Bari, Bitetto, Bitonto, and Molfetta, the late E. A. Freeman saw the hand of the Norman builder, who followed the example of the great west fronts of the Abbayes aux Hommes and aux Dames at Caen. " Here," says the Professor in his *Studies of Travel*, p. 290, speaking of the cathedral at Bari, " we are in the city where the Norman displaced the Greek. The two great churches of Bari, like

that of Bitonto, have their towers wrought into the building in the Norman fashion," etc. etc. It is, however, probable that in all the instances above quoted the arrangement of the east end was complete as early as 1034, nearly half a century before the Normans had begun to make their influence felt in the architecture of this region.

The whole of the decoration of the south and east Italian churches is wholly unlike Roman or Romanesque work. The arches are constantly used for ornament only, without being in any degree whatever constructional. At Sta Maria Ancona, for instance, the whole front is covered with arches one above the other, literally carrying nothing. The intrados and extrados of the arches are commonly struck from different centres. The arches are indifferently round and pointed. The walls are divided by small pilasters at short intervals into panels, generally six or eight feet wide. These pilasters have either heavy sculptured capitals, or thin, simply-moulded ones, which carry arcades ; and these, where there are no windows, are filled in either with circular or lozenge-shaped panels of carved or inlaid work, as for example in Troja and Benevento cathedrals. The arches are frequently of horseshoe shape, as at Foggia. This is thoroughly Moorish work, and that it should be so is not to be wondered at, seeing that that place is only a few miles from Lucera, where, in the thirteenth century, Frederick II. built one of the largest castles in Europe for his army of Saracen mercenaries, and gave them the cathedral for use as a mosque—a somewhat strong measure for one for whose character his contemporary, St Louis, is said to have had great esteem.

It is singular that this cathedral at Lucera should have some more than usually northern features. The nave and

transept have Pointed arches and a small clerestory. But the three eastern apses are remarkable for their equipment with well-designed buttresses and Pointed Gothic windows, with no trace whatever of the usual Eastern influence.

The façades of these South Italian churches are very uniform in arrangement, and their influence is felt all over the north of Italy down to the end of the fourteenth century. They are finished either with a low-pitched gable, or without any gable at all, like the Assisian churches of Sta Chiara and San Pietro, and all the roofs are of the same pitch where there are aisles. Even those gables which seem to follow the lines of the structure are often false.

The windows in the fronts of the Romanesque churches are usually round-headed ones of two lights under a comprising arch of the same shape, and above, a wheel window filled with delicate tracery, or sometimes with Mooresque patterns, and always surrounded by a moulding or a carved member, which seems entirely to separate them from the wall, on which they become ornamental panels. There are usually flat pedimental canopies over the doors. At Aquila there are round-arched doorways, whose joints are covered with Gothic arcades and gabled and crocketed canopies, with three rose windows above, and a wall diapered all over. This front was not really finished till 1315, and yet at first sight it has all the appearance of a twelfth-century work.

The late Romanesque portals in the façades of Ravello, Bari and Bitonto cathedrals are truly superb ; occasionally, as for instance at Amalfi, a porch extending the whole width of the façade forms a fine feature.

More to the west, and within reach of Naples, we see the Moorish influence prevalent at Amalfi, Minuto, Scala, Scaletta, Ravello, and Salerno. At Ravello, indeed, the

Palace of the Ruffolo family is a complete Moorish house, with its *patio* of two stories in height, its great gateway covered with a Moorish dome, and its enclosing walls adorned in true Moorish fashion; but although the churches in the vicinity of Ravello are not Moorish in the same frank completeness, they fully evidence the same influence.

The steeple of Amalfi Cathedral, dating from 1276, has in its lower stages extremely stilted Round-arched openings, and the upper stage is circular, with four circular turrets at the angles, the centre stage and the turrets being all covered with interlacing Pointed arches. There is a dome similarly arcaded over the crossing of Sta Maria, Ravello. The cloisters, which lend such a charm to Amalfi, are all similarly adorned, and it should be noted that the arcades project slightly from the face of the wall in all cases, so as to proclaim the fact that they have nothing to do with its support; whilst the very design equally shows that most of the apparently arcuated work is false and unnecessary. And they are devoid of mouldings.

A point to be noticed with regard to the ancient churches in Italy is that they were most often engaged on one or more sides of a piazza, with other buildings. This was particularly the case in Northern Italy, while in Rome it is interesting to note that out of 235 churches 41 are attached on *one* side only to other buildings, 96 abut on *two* sides, 110 are engaged on *three* sides, two on *four* sides, and 6 only stand entirely free. Of these six two are modern Protestant buildings and the other four are surrounded by narrow streets.

At Lucca, Vicenza and Pisa we have instances of churches standing free, but it will be observed that the

NAPLES: DOORWAY OF SAN GIOVANNI PAPPACODA.

NAPLES: INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL.

same rule is applied to them as to the monuments: they are not in the centre but upon the sides of piazzas of moderate size, and gain vastly in effect by their position. The modern taste is to strip these old masterpieces of their surroundings, as it is in France, to their infinite detriment: their frames were designed for them, and cannot be removed without destroying valuable qualities in the work so treated.

The richest field for the ecclesiologist in this part of Italy is the eastern province of Apulia, comprising three divisions, Bari, Foggia and Lecce. In the very interesting and comparatively little altered churches of this province the Lombard style, both in general plan and detail of ornament, is distinctly predominant. San Nicola at Bari offers a fine example. The Normans imported Gothic modes of treatment, carried out, however, by Lombard architects. A good specimen of their period is the abbey church at Venosa. After the accession of the house of Anjou, Pointed architecture was exclusively patronized by sovereigns of that dynasty, and most of the ecclesiastical edifices of the capital were originally in that style. Moreover, Apulia seems to have escaped to a great extent the two ecclesiological evils of over-population and of earthquakes, and consequently retains many buildings of very great interest.

During the whole period which elapsed from the time of Justinian nearly to the Norman conquest, Apulia seems to have shared in all the troubles that oppressed Italy in the early Middle Ages. Under the successive rule of the Gothic kings of Ravenna, the Lombard dukes of Benevento, the German Othos, and of the Greek emperors of Constantinople, Apulia had little time for cultivating the arts of

peace. Her greatest misfortunes arose from the ravages of the Saracens in the ninth century. They never settled, to any extent, within her boundaries, but burnt and destroyed her cities, and plundered everything within their reach. On their expulsion, in the beginning of the tenth century, the province enjoyed its first period of repose and prosperity under the Greek Catapani till the time of the Norman invasion in the beginning of the eleventh, and it was probably during this period that the cathedral at Matera and others of the older churches were erected, though by far the greater number of those now found in the province belong to the age of the Norman and Angiovine dynasties.

From the cathedrals and churches of Apulia, then, the ecclesiologist will derive the deepest pleasure and gain the greatest store of knowledge. In those of Ascoli, Altamura, Bari, Barletta, Bitetto, Foggia, Giovenazzo, Lucera, Melfi, Molo, Manduria, Matera, Ostuni, Ruvo, Siponto and Venosa he will find Romanesque carried out with a strong admixture of Greek or Byzantine feeling in the details, while retaining its local and Italian character more essentially perhaps than any other of the styles which prevailed in Italy during the Middle Ages.

The church architecture of Naples has but little interest for the student, presenting scarcely an unaltered specimen of work between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Many of the earlier churches, which in their original state must have been superb examples of Angevine and Suabian Gothic, have been barbarously mutilated by alterations of the Renaissance and baroque epochs, and by an excessive passion for tasteless ornament by Spaniards. The columns of the Pointed arches dividing the nave of Sta Restituta

from its aisles, the square piers of the arcades in the nave of the cathedral with engaged shafts on their eastern and western sides, the modern Gothic façade of the same church, and the doorway of San Giovanni Pappacoda—a truly graceful conception—indeed one of the loveliest things of the kind in Southern Italy—being the most noticeable Pointed Gothic remains in Naples. Of the Classical churches few have a more pleasing interior than San Francesco di Paolo, built early in the last century from the designs of Bianchi, and of which an illustration is furnished.

Apart from their inexhaustible interest as structures of the early Mediæval period, the religious edifices of the Abruzzi, Apulia and Campania offer innumerable instances of the skill of the sculptor and the worker in metal.

In these parts of the peninsula during the thirteenth century there existed a school of sculpture resembling that of France, owing probably to the Norman occupation. The pulpit in Ravello Cathedral, to take but a solitary instance, executed by Nicolaus di Bartolomeo di Foggia in 1272, is an important work of this class ; it is enriched with very noble sculpture, especially a large female hand, crowned with a richly foliated coronet, and combining life-like vigour with largeness of style in a very remarkable way. In this pulpit at Ravello, and also in the no less remarkable ones at Amalfi, Benevento, Bitonto, Calvi, San Sabino Canosa, La Madonna del Lago, Moscufoni, San Pellino, San Clemente Pescaria, San Giovanni Ravello, Salerno, Solmona, Scala, Sessa and Troja ; and also in such episcopal thrones as exist at Bari, San Sabino Canosa, Fondi, the Grotto Church of Monte Sant Angelo and Terracina, a mingling of sculpture and mosaic—the latter generally

in purely geometrical designs of an Arabico-Byzantine character, and executed in that style known as *opus tesselatum*—is very observable. Much of this decoration has been ascribed to the Cosmati, so renowned for the elegance of their design and the delicacy with which they carried it out. The same kind of mosaic decoration is applied to white marble paschal candlesticks, of which those in the cathedrals of Anagni, Capua, Salerno and Sessa, and in the churches of San Clemente de Casauria and Sta Maria d'Arbona afford the best and most valuable examples for study.

The sculptor's art in Southern Italy is, however, best exemplified in those magnificent doorways with one or more of which almost every large church is furnished. Perhaps two of the most remarkable of these portals are to be found in the cathedral of Bitonto and the church of the Rosary at Terlizzi. These doors are respectively in the Round-arched and Pointed styles, and in the exuberance of their sculpture and ornamentation exceed the richest specimens of the north. In the Bitonto doorway figures of animals are introduced as architectural elements. The ornament in relief nearest the door has a northern character, weird animals being introduced largely. The treatment appears more remarkable from the contrast with the ornament near it, which might have been taken from a Roman building. In the tympanum the figures are also of a Northern type. In the upper division the subject appears to be Christ amidst saints; in the lintel, the Annunciation, Visitation, Adoration of the Wise Men, and Presentation in the Temple are combined.

The doorway of the church at Terlizzi, also in Apulia, was, like the rest of the front of the building, covered with

Doorway: Church of the Rosary at Terlizzi.

Bitonto Cathedral: Western Doorway.

a thick coat of whitewash. The Italian Government ordered that the door should be revealed, and were rewarded by a remarkable example of sculpture.

The ornament, it will be observed by reference to the illustration, runs around the sides and upper part of the door, and consequently the elements which compose it are turned in different directions according to position. The curves of the branches are stiff, but the sculptor may have tried to imitate nature. The upper relief in the arch is probably the strangest representation of the Last Supper that has been carved. In order to display the viands, the table becomes a sort of arch, and the Apostles appear as busts placed on it. Apparently they are Normans. The lintel represents the Annunciation, Nativity and Crucifixion, and the whole sculpture may be considered to be the work of some primitive amateur, and probably he was a Norman soldier.

Besides these two doorways, of which I have given a brief description, the following cathedrals and churches present specimens worthy of the student's attention for the elegance of their architecture or the sculpture with which the majority of them are so liberally endowed ; the latter presenting an extraordinary mixture of styles—Lombard, Byzantine, Norman, Saracenic—sometimes all combined in a single doorway, and illustrating in a remarkable manner the mingling of races and civilizations which had been brought together in those provinces of the peninsula of which this portion of the volume treats :

Aquila (Sta Maria di Collemaggio) ; Altamura and Atri Cathedrals ; Aversa (San Lorenzo) ; Bari (San Nicola) ; Barletta (Sant' Andrea) ; Benevento, Bitetto, Conversano and Matera Cathedrals ; Naples (San Giovanni dei Pap-

pacoda ; Ruvo and Trani Cathedrals ; Venosa (Sta Trinita) and San Giovanni in Venere.

In many cases these elaborate portals of Southern Italy were provided with doors, whose decoration, completing and supplementing the frame-work, form most important marks in the history of casting in bronze.

When the seat of the empire was changed from Rome to Byzantium, the latter city became the chief centre for the production of art metal-work. From Byzantium the special skill in this art was transmitted in the ninth and tenth centuries to the Rhenish provinces of Germany, and to Italy, and thence to the whole of Western Europe. In that period of extreme degradation into which all the higher arts fell after the destruction of the Roman Empire, though true feeling for beauty and knowledge of the subtleties of the human form remained for centuries almost dormant, yet at Byzantium at least there still survived great technical skill and power in the production of art metal-work. It was therefore to Byzantium that Italy turned for metal workers, and especially for the production of bronze doors for churches, ornamented with panels of cast work in high relief. One artist, named Staurachios, produced many works of this class, some of which still exist, such as the bronze doors of the cathedral at Amalfi, dated 1066. Probably by the same artist, though his name was spelt differently, were the bronze doors of San Paolo fuori le Mura at Rome, careful drawings of which exist, though the originals were destroyed in the fire of 1823.* Other important examples exist at Ravello (1197), Salerno (1099), and Atrani (1087) ; at Trani, signed by an artist

* These doors are illustrated in Serous d'Agincourt's *Histoire de l'Art et ses Monuments*, plates 13-20, 1847.

named Barisanos (end of twelfth century), the reliefs on which are remarkable for expression and dignity, in spite of their early rudeness of modelling and ignorance of the human figure ; and at Canosa in the portal of the tomb of Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, the son of Robert Guiscard, who died in 1102, and one of the heroes of Tasso :

> " Ma 'l gran nemico mistra queste squadre
> Già riveder non posso ; e pur vi guato :
> Io dico Boemondo, il micidiale
> Distruggitor del sangue mio reale."

At Benevento Cathedral, the Grotto Church at Monte Sant' Angelo, San Clemente Pescara (Cafauria), San Pietro Alba (Fucese) and Monte Cassino, good and interesting specimens of bronze doors may be seen. Most of these appendages were enriched with fine lines inlaid in silver, and in some cases with a kind of niello or enamel.

The technical skill of these Byzantine metal workers was soon acquired by native Italian artists, who produced many important works in bronze similar in style and execution to those of the Byzantine Greeks. Such for instance are the bronze valves of Troja Cathedral made in the early part of the twelfth century by Oderisius of Benevento.

Of these bronze doors to the churches of Southern Italy, those of the cathedral at Trani, the work of the Barisanos who executed those at Ravello and for the northern doorway of Monreale Cathedral, are generally considered the most curious and perfect works of their age and class. On examining them carefully it is difficult to know which to admire the most, the complete design or the details ; the ingenuity of the invention or the finish of the execu-

tion ; the immense variety of the subjects or the naturalness and expressiveness of the figures.

Whether the larger figures in the panels or the smaller which enrich the borders are studied, a certain life, a certain vivacity, and above all that a tone of local colour which brings before us, after the lapse of so many centuries, the religious faith and warlike habits of the age of St Bernard and of Richard Cœur de Lion, are traceable. On the one hand, the figures of the encircling border, the richly-decorated knockers, the finely-moulded rosettes which separate the panels, reveal the imagination of the artist. On the other, the customs and habits of thought of that age live again in episodes of the chase, in mounted archers discharging their arrows backward as they ride, and not less in real or fabulous beasts to which the Bible, the legends of the Church, and the mystic poetry of the time had lent a sort of popular consecration.

Altamura

Altamura Cathedral is a thirteenth-century Romanesque church of much interest, founded by the Emperor Frederick II. shortly after his coronation in 1220. It was finished in or about 1232, but great alterations took place during the first half of the fourteenth century, to which period the sumptuous western doorway and the graceful rose window over it must be referred. About 175 feet long, Altamura Cathedral comprises a nave and aisles which lead to a transept not projecting beyond the line of the aisles. The nave is divided into three compartments by

grouped pilasters and columns, between one pair of which a round arch spans the nave transversely and springs from a shaft attached to a pilaster at the level of the triforium. This is composed of three arcades of equal height comprised under a semicircular arch, the tympanum being unpierced. The transverse arch above alluded to coincides in height with the triforium, the space between it and the flat wooden ceiling being solid but relieved with arcading. The effect of this arrangement is not only very picturesque, but gives an air of additional length to the building. As regards the arcades opening from the nave into its aisles, the first and third groups contain each two arches, and the middle compartment three. The arches are high and round and carried upon stout shafts with capitals exhibiting well-developed foliage. At Altamura the triforium is called the *matroneo* or women's gallery. The capitals here are very large for the size of the shafts, and have narrow square abaci. Over each triforium triplet is a small round-headed clerestory window, high in the wall. The line of nave columns is continued by a single round arch on each side spanning the entrance to the transept.

In the west front is a most beautiful doorway, whose Pointed arch, crowned by a gable, rises from two slender detached columns on each side, of which the outer ones rest on the backs of lions. The several orders of the arch and the jambs, lintel and tympanum of the actual doorway present an assemblage of sculpture Byzantine in feeling with a pronounced *soupçon* of the Saracenic, and in point of elaboration may be compared with the doorways of Bitonto Cathedral and the church at Terlizzi. Over this doorway is a fine rose window.

Amalfi

Amalfi Cathedral, founded in the middle of the ninth century, was restored in the thirteenth, when the relics of St Andrew were translated to this place, and finished in 1276. It is a Gothic structure with some singular features. The situation of its façade, at the summit of a broad flight of steps, recalling the Aracœli at Rome and Le Puy Cathedral in Velay, is most imposing. Across the whole front of the church, but longer on the northern than on the southern side, is a noble porch, connected with the main fabric by a lean-to roof, broken in the centre by a broad gable, beneath which are three open arches. The central one is much higher than that on either side of it and rests upon columns imposed upon the capitals of those separating the three openings, and rising as it does into the aforementioned gable is on a level with the spring of the lean-to roof of the porch. On either side of these open arches are Pointed windows of three lights, unglazed, with the intersecting mullions forming their tracery rising from slender columns. At the northern extremity of this porch is a square tower surmounted by a curious circular belfry with a domed roof, and in the spaces formed by it with the angles of the tower are turrets of the same shape. This tower dates from 1276, but a "restoration" to which it was subjected in the middle of the eighteenth century has deprived it of much of its pristine beauty. The western façade of Amalfi Cathedral has been entirely rebuilt within the last half century, under the direction of Signor Alvino, in the Early Italian style, of variously-coloured marbles profusely

relieved with Venetian glass-mosaic. The open arcaded porch or narthex is raised on a high basement, and is divided by a line of renewed columns into two transverse groined aisles, the effect of which, viewed from an angle of either end, is most charming. Of the three doorways opening from the porch into the cathedral the central one is closed by one of those remarkable pairs of bronze doors of which there are several noble examples in Southern Italy, notably at the Sepulchral Chapel of Bœmond, Prince of Antioch, near San Sabino Canosa; at Trani, Ravello, Troja, Monte San Angelo, Benevento, Atrani, Monte Cassino and Salerno; those in the last-named church being finely delineated in de Luynes's *Recherches sur les monuments et l'histoire des Normands dans l'Italie Meridionale* (Paris 1844); also in Schulz's folio volume on the architecture of Southern Italy. The doors at Amalfi, which are supposed to date from 1000, and to be the work of Byzantine artists, furnished the model for those at Monte Cassino. They bear two inscriptions in silver letters recording their erection by Pantaleone di Mauro in honour of St Andrew, and for the redemption of his soul. The upper inscription runs as follows: *Hoc opus Andreæ memoriæ consistit, effectum Pantaleonis bis honore auctoris studiis, ut pro gestis succedat gratia culpis:* and the under one: *Hoc opus fieri jussit pro redemptione animæ suæ Pantaleo filius Mauri de Pantaleone de Mauro de Maurone Comite.*

The jambs, lintel and tympanum are decorated with rude but spirited Arabic carving. Above the porch the outline of the façade follows that of the inner aisles, but the centre is carried up in a high gable, after the usual Italian Gothic manner, far above the nave roof, and is

occupied by a great mosaic picture of the Majesty, surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists.

The nave is separated from its inner aisles by round arches on square piers of eighteenth-century casing; inside them are the fine ancient marble columns. The nave and aisles open into a transept with three eastern apses—*i.e.*, an apse at the east end of the choir and one on the eastern side of either transept. The flat ceiling is carved and gilded, and decorated with paintings by Andrea d'Asti. A five-aisled crypt extends under the whole transept. It contains the body of St Andrew, which was brought from Constantinople with other relics by Cardinal Capuano, after he had effected the reconciliation between the Eastern and Western Churches at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The acquisition of such a relic soon made Amalfi a place of pilgrimage. In 1218 it was visited by St Francis of Assisi; in 1262 by Pope Urban IV.; and in 1354 by St Bridget of Sweden, on her return from Jerusalem; by Queen Joanna I., and by her husband, Louis of Taranto; and in 1466 by Pope Pius II., during whose pontificate the head of the apostle was enclosed in a silver bust, and removed by Cardinal Bessarion to Rome, where it is still preserved among the relics in St Peter's. The fame of St Andrew's tomb was materially augmented at the commencement of the fourteenth century by the discovery that the oily matter which was said to have exuded from his body at Patras, the scene of his crucifixion, had again appeared at Amalfi. This substance, under the name of the Manna of St Andrew, became, like that of St Nicholas at Bari, a source of great profit, and long enjoyed a reputation in all the south of Europe for its miraculous powers in the cure of disease. The colossal bronze statue

Amalfi Cathedral.

Anagni Cathedral.

of the apostle, by Michael Angelo Naccarino, was presented by Philip III. of Spain.

The two oblong pulpits are supported partly on corbels and partly on ancient columns of red granite. An antique porphyry vase, remarkable both for its size and for the beauty of its material, serves as a baptismal font. Near it are the remains of two ancient sarcophagi with reliefs of considerable interest but much mutilated. On one of them, built into the wall, the Rape of Proserpine is represented. On the other is the marriage of Peleus and Thetis in the presence of the gods, or the story of Mars and Rhea Sylvia. On the north side of the cathedral is a curious little cloister, with very acutely Pointed intersecting arches carried upon coupled shafts.

Aquila

San Bernardino is a Pointed Gothic church of the thirteenth century which has undergone frequent reconstructions. The interior was partly destroyed by the earthquake of 1703, and in consequence the repairs were carried out in the style of that period. The aisles are vaulted ; the nave has a flat ceiling, and five arcades of arches on either side borne on columns. At the crossing is a dome, and the eastern limb is apsidal. The Renaissance façade, from the designs of Cola dell' Amatrice (early sixteenth century), is the most striking external feature.

In the Vetusti Chapel (the first on the right) is a fine Coronation of the Virgin and Resurrection by Luca della Robbia ; on the left Joachim and Anna, on the right SS. Chiara and Francis ; the figures are white on a blue

ground. The shrine of San Bernardino is a fine specimen of Early Renaissance workmanship, executed in white marble wrought with elegant statuettes and other sculptures in high relief by Silvestro Salviati dell' Aquila at the expense of a merchant. In front are the Virgin and Child with SS. Bernardino, Giovanni Capestrano, and the donor, Giacomo di Notar Nannis; in niches SS. John Baptist, Matthew, Peter and Paul. Behind are SS. Sebastian, Catherine, Francis, and Bonaventura. Far finer as a work of art is the monument to a Contessa di Montorio, representing a mother with her infant beneath in a recumbent posture.

Ascribed indifferently to Silvestro or Andrea di Aquila, it is one of the finest productions of the great Tuscan artists at the close of the fifteenth century.

Sta Maria di Collemaggio, a Romanesque church of the thirteenth century, much injured by earthquakes and spoilt by tasteless baroque alterations, is remarkable for its west front, which by its horizontality recalls the earlier styles. The three divisions terminate flat, like the façades of the Assisi churches, Sta Chiara and San Pietro. There are two stories, and the front measures about 100 feet across. In the central compartment of the lower storey is a grandly proportioned round-headed doorway, elaborately moulded with spiral bands of figures of angels and *putti* (winged boys), and flanked by two rows of small niches, most of which are untenanted. In each of the side compartments is a smaller doorway, also round-headed, and surmounted by a graceful wheel window. The two stages of the façade are separated by a modillioned cornice of Classic form. The side compartments of the upper storey present an unbroken surface of small blocks of red and white marble

forming a regular tile pattern, the same species of decoration being applied to the other portions of the façade, which thus presents a most beautiful display of natural polychromy. A large wheel window occupies the middle division of the second stage, and at the south-west angle, but not rising beyond the cornice which runs across the centre of the façade, is an octagonal tower from which the bishop of the diocese reads, on every 29th of August, the bull in favour of Aquila granted by Celestin V., who was consecrated Pope in this church in 1294, and afterwards buried here. The whole surface of the front, between and above the doors, and all the upper storey, is richly ornamented with small blocks of red and white limestone, forming a regular tile pattern, a horizontal cornice of Renaissance moulding finishing the whole.

The monument of Pope Celestin, at the end of the south aisle, is of white limestone, and covered with a profusion of arabesques; it was erected by Girolamo da Vicenza in 1517.

Sta Giusta has a fine wheel window in its façade; San Domenico a good Pointed doorway in its transept; San Silvestro a magnificent wheel and round-headed doorway, as have the small churches of San Nicola d'Anza, Sta Maria di Soccorso (1450), Il Vasto and San Marciano.

Ascoli

Ascoli Cathedral, dedicated to St Emidio, is built of travertine. The nave and aisles date, according to an inscription, from 1481, but the greater part of the church, including the Renaissance façade, attributed to Niccola

Filotesio, better known as Cola dell' Amatrice, is of the sixteenth century.

This façade is rigidly symmetrical, the angles and lines of the nave piers being marked by flat pilasters, with engaged three-quarter Corinthian columns carrying an entablature and balustrade which finishes the front. In the central division is a grandiose portal, with small grouped windows above, and on each side a semicircular niche and a square panel. The flanking towers are, however, of the early church; one is unfinished. At the junction of the nave and choir with the transepts is a dome. The nave and aisles are simple and heavy, the arches rising from plain square piers. Extending under the choir and transept is a crypt, by far the most interesting portion of the building. It is divided into square groined bays by small columns and arches; the former are of granite or marble, and divide the crypt into eleven bays from north to south and into six from the west end to the extremities of the three apses. The columns have cubiform capitals rudely sculptured.

San Francesco is a Gothic church, perhaps of the fourteenth century, and is about 200 feet in length and 80 in breadth. Five octagonal columns carrying Pointed arches divide the nave from its aisles. There is no clerestory, the aisles being vaulted merely at the same level as the nave. At the crux is an octagonal dome supported upon four Pointed arches, with squinches in the angles. The whole of the church eastwards of the nave is raised five steps, and the transepts are only divided by single broad Pointed arches in the line of the nave arcades into three vaulted bays. There are two semicircular apses (vaulted) at the end of either transept, and three on the eastern side, rising as high as the walls. The rectangular

west front is pierced with a Pointed doorway, above which are three square-headed windows, and the flanks are divided by slender flat pilaster strips between which are narrow Pointed windows. The south porch is in two stories, and has a Pointed arched opening below, and a Renaissance niche enshrining a statue of Pope Julius II. The eastern apses are flanked by two tall stone turrets with spires. On the north side is a cloister with groined walks and Pointed arches looking into the quadrangle.

San Giovanni Battista, on the south side of the cathedral, is a small baptistery. In plan it is an octagon rising out of a square, roofed with a high octagonal dome and stone lantern. The corners are occupied by niches and covered externally by broach roofs. There is a plain doorway in two of the sides, and above, in each face, a blind triple arcade on slender attached shafts.

Atri

Atri Cathedral is one of the most characteristic Pointed Gothic churches of the commandingly-situated Abruzzi. It is a three-aisled structure with a single eastern apse, and dates from the latter part of the thirteenth century. The rectangular façade, masking the outline of the nave and aisles, and divided by flat pilasters, has a single central door of the early part of the fourteenth century. It has a semicircular head, but is profusely adorned with Gothic sculpture, angle shafts, dog-tooth, and cable mouldings. The acutely-Pointed gable surmounting the arch, and reaching to the cornice, encloses a circular window of the rayonnant type of the same period, and of much elegance. A horizontal eaves cornice enriched with trefoils com-

pletes the façade. On the south side is another portal of somewhat similar design, and of majestic proportions.

The interior has Pointed arcades and the apse is vaulted. Formerly there was a flat wooden ceiling, but in 1830 this was unfortunately removed and the present sorry vaulting substituted. This cathedral was originally decorated with highly-interesting mural paintings, all of which have been obliterated, with the exception of those in the apse.

These paintings, elaborately restored, represent the history of the Virgin on the walls, and the Evangelists and Virtues on the semi-dome. They are by Luca d'Atri and others. The tabernacle above the high altar and the font are by an early sixteenth-century Milanese sculptor, Paolo di Garno.

The campanile of Atri Cathedral, a very tall, handsome one, is square, and surmounted by a two-storied octagon pierced by a range of broad Pointed windows in pairs; above are round windows, and a low spire with a group of pinnacles crowns the whole. The arcaded cornice of the façade is repeated at each storey of the tower, and even round the pinnacles.

Bari

Of the Apulian churches, perhaps the most widely known is that of San Nicola at Bari, a fine Romanesque structure founded in 1087, at which time the relics of the patron saint were brought from Myra in Lycia. The nave has the peculiarity of being spanned transversely by arches commensurate in height with those of the longitudinal arcades, introduced in all likelihood for purposes of stability, and recalling in their effect the similarly intro-

duced ones in that most picturesque of southern French churches, St Paul Serge at Narbonne. There are also three narrow arches in the same position at the east end of the nave where it adjoins the transept, forming a kind of constructional choir-screen.

The exterior retains its ancient features almost unaltered, the western entrance being a highly characteristic example of the Romanesque style as developed in Apulia. The portal is flanked by two graceful pillars, very similar as regards the foliaging of their capitals to those in the apse of the ruined church at Alet, near Carcassonne, and resting on monsters more important and more conventional than any found in similar situations in Northern Italy. On either side of the doorway are two pillars, supporting nothing, and with capitals of great elegance, but partaking much more of the conventional acanthus-leaf character. It is probable that these two columns were borrowed from some antique building. There is another doorway of almost equal beauty on the south side of the nave towards its eastern end. Though less elaborate it is of such large dimensions as to contain a canopied tomb of the richest and most elaborate workmanship. Here, as in several other Apulian churches, the semicircular apses are not visible externally, a flat wall crossing the whole of the east end. The crypt here is very finely dimensioned, and extends beneath the transept and the apses. The nine bays of columns crossing it from north to south, and the five from east to west, present a forest of columns affording the most engaging views in every direction. The Cathedral of Bari, and also those of Bitetto and Bitonto, present so many of the same Apulian features that a detailed description of them all would be wearisome to the reader. At Bari, and

also at Bitonto, there is a range of chapels beyond the nave aisles on either side, the place of the last chapel towards the transept being occupied by a recessed open porch, as at San Nicola, Bari. The plan of Bitonto Cathedral includes a nave with a broad undivided transept occupying about a third of its length, with a crypt beneath it. In all these buildings the plan must be described as T-shaped rather than strictly cruciform, there being no bay intermediary between the transept and the apse. Ruthless modernizations in the interior have deprived this church of what must have been one of its finest features, the triforium, that on the north side being concealed by a Renaissance wall, as at Bari.

Externally Bitonto Cathedral is one of the finest in Southern Italy, the façade, with its circular window in the gable, being especially noble. This window is surrounded by a belt of carving, the upper half being covered by a concave archivolt enriched with sculpture and springing from the backs of grotesques which stand on the capitals of two flanking columns, also resting on sculptured corbels. Below are two windows of a type common in Apulian Romanesque, and consisting of two round-headed lights beneath a discharging arch of the same shape. The portal here, and also at Bitetto, display much fine sculptured ornamentation. At Bitonto and Bari Cathedrals one of the most interesting external features is the series of open arcades over the walls of the aisles, that at Bitonto being perhaps one of the earliest instances of its employment, and is treated with an individuality that raises a doubt as to its relationship with Northern architecture. The gallery occupied the space over the flanking chapels as the triforium occupied the space over the aisles, both galleries

being spanned by a single roof. This outer arcade at Bitonto is divided by piers into six groups of six arches each, corresponding with the division of the blind arcades in the aisle walls, and of the nave arcades, a wall connecting each pier with the wall at the back of the arcade dividing the gallery into separate compartments. Bari Cathedral exhibited a fine example of the triforium until its embellishment under the rococo. Each compartment was a round-arched one as broad as the arch opening into the aisle below, and enclosed a triplet of arcades, the tympanum being left unpierced. This arrangement is characteristic of the Apulian Romanesque, and it is interesting to contrast it with the corresponding arrangement in the Lombardic churches of Sant' Ambrogio at Milan, and San Michele at Pavia, where the triforium opening is a single low, large and undivided arch. From the chamber over the north aisle of Bari Cathedral the arrangement of the triforium can still be seen.

Barletta

The church of Sta Maria, or del Assunzione, is an ancient Romanesque structure, presumed to have been founded before the opening of the tenth century, but rebuilt in the twelfth and enlarged in the fourteenth. A sharp dividing-line is drawn, particularly in the interior, between the architecture of the earlier church and that of the added portion. The length of the two is nearly equal; the western half being in the Lombard style, with four round arches on each side springing from antique columns of marble, with attic bases and capitals whose foliage recalls the Corinthian of older days, surmounted by a piece of

entablature after the manner of the Ravennese arcades. Above these arches is an upper gallery, which in its turn supports a clerestory of single small round-headed windows under a wooden roof.

The eastern half of the church is distinctly Gothic, with a groined nave and aisles separated by four high Pointed arches on each side of unequal breadth and springing from grouped piers, with vaulting shafts attached to them. There is no triforium, and a single small lancet window lights the stage under the groining in each bay. The choir terminates apsidally with five Pointed arches opening into as many radiating vaulted chapels, an unusual instance of the chevet arrangement in a south Italian church, but which, it must be confessed, has little beauty to recommend it, particularly on the exterior.

The façade, narrow and high, follows the outline of the interior, and is divided into three compartments, each with a doorway. The side ones are ancient and exhibit grotesque sculpture, and over each is a two-light shafted window surrounded by a triple border of decoration. Above the modern central door is a large early window of very rich character, with jamb shafts, and in the gable above is a rose. Following the rake of the cornice of the whole façade is an arcaded corbel table. The tower stands on the north side of the church at the junction of the old and new work.

Benevento

The cathedral of Sta Maria at Benevento, although one of the most ancient churches of Lombardic character in the south of Italy, has been so overlaid internally with de-

based Classical work as to have lost much of its pristine interest. Externally, the most engaging feature of this church is the remains of a colonnaded atrium before the façade, comprising two stories of blind arcades, with seven round arches in each storey. Those of the first are high and carried upon flat pilasters ; in two of the arch heads is the lozenge-shaped ornament so frequent in Tuscan Romanesque architecture. In the second storey the arcade is bolder and has low columns with curious capitals.

The fine bronze doors, with reliefs in the panels of saints and bishops, date from 1150, but were restored during the last decade of the seventeenth. Above is a horizontal cornice of Renaissance character, over which appears the flat, bare west end of the nave. A large detached square campanile stands a little to the north of the façade, plain in its lower part, with a frieze of small antique figures across the face of the lower stage at not quite mid-height. The upper storey, separated from the lower one by a vigorous corbel table, has a large Pointed window in each face, the western one holding three bells, and the others filled with Middle Pointed tracery in two lights. The interior is remarkable among Italian churches for its double aisles and close-set rows of fluted columns with Roman Doric capitals, carrying round arches and an entablature.

Such a combination before the days of the Renaissance is singular, but accounted for by the supposition that they were the spoil of some neighbouring and more ancient temple. The whole of the upper part of the nave has been most shockingly modernized, and the ceiling, divided into octagonal coffers, cannot be said to improve

the ensemble. The long range of white marble Doric pillars is, however, admirable, and the views across the double aisles are undoubtedly very engaging. The nave terminates in the triumphal arch of the Roman basilica, beyond which is a broad transept, not projecting beyond the line of the aisles, and a semicircular apse. At the east end of the nave, on either side, is a fine fourteenth-century pulpit, about ten feet square, supported by columns of black marble and granite, with enriched shafts standing on monsters, and capitals in which figures and heads are intermixed with foliage.

The original cathedral, founded as early as the beginning of the seventh century, and destroyed by an earthquake, was rebuilt and finished in 1047. Parts of this building still remain, notably the arcades and lower portion of the façade; the remainder of the exterior belongs to a period between 1114 and 1279.

Sta Sophia is an Early Romanesque church, in plan a circle of about 75 feet diameter. On the exterior the western third of this circle is cut into by a rectangular portico about 105 feet long. Within, the church forms a hexagon, six antique columns of the Corinthian order supporting round arches from which rises a dome.

The space outside the central hexagon is divided by a ring of ten columns into two circular aisles, in which the vaulting, in separate bays, is of varied form, triangular, trapezoidal and domed. A large tribune opens from the east side. The exterior has Lombardic reminiscences, among which may be noted a blind arcade with lozenges in the arch-heads and a central door flanked by columns with acanthus-leaf capitals carrying an archi-

trave surmounted by a circular arch, and in the tympanum is sculpture on a gold mosaic ground.

Much of the original character of Sta Sophia at Benevento has been destroyed by repeated earthquakes. The church belonged first to a convent of female religious, and then to monks of the Benedictine order. Their cloister is remarkable for its columns, some sixty in number, many of whose capitals, surmounted by the " dosseret," are of great variety and grotesqueness.

Capua

Capua Cathedral, a three-aisled basilica, is assigned to the ninth and eleventh centuries. The atrium of the original church remains, surrounded by a colonnade of twenty-four Corinthian columns, of which sixteen are antique, carrying rather stilted round arches.

The church, rebuilt more than once, and restored during the last century, retains its Pointed Gothic columns and arches probably of the fourteenth century. The former have capitals of the Corinthian kind, more or less recent. There is a spacious crypt, of a " Norman " Romanesque character, with a circuit of marble columns, also with the acanthus-leafed capital.

An interesting church in Capua is Sant' Angelo in Formis,* dating in its original form from the ninth century. Two centuries later it was replaced, or restored in connection with the adjacent monastery of the same name, and consecrated in 1075. In plan it is parallel-triapsidal, and

* So called because of the numerous aqueducts which led from the mountains down to Capua, distant about four miles.

about 110 feet long by 60 broad, and is entered from an open portico of five groined bays. The arches separating the nave from its aisles are round and are carried upon antique columns of marble and granite, and both nave and aisles are ceiled with wood. Mural paintings executed by Greek artists cover the whole surface of the walls, the Doom occupying the entire west end above the entrance, and the Majesty, enthroned amid angels and saints, the great apse. The space between the pier arches and the roof is decorated with three ranges of pictures. The façade has a noble porch later than the rest of the building, and extending across its whole breadth, the five arches opening into it being acutely Pointed and stilted ones on shortened antique columns of various sizes. The central arch is broader and more stilted than the rest, and breaks into the horizontal cornice. Frescoes adorn the walls of this *loggia* and the tympanum of the doorway to the nave, whose west end is pierced by three small plain round-headed windows under a low gable. The clerestory windows are of the same description.

On the south side stands a large detached campanile of two stages, separated by a string course, and covered with a flat roof.

Caserta Vecchia

Caserta Vecchia Cathedral, rebuilt in 1153, and one of the most important monuments of the Norman occupation in South Italy, is a small basilica 153 feet long by 90 wide at its broadest part, the transepts, 63 feet, being the breadth of the church from the entrance to the crux.

The nave and aisles have flat-ceiled roofs, arcades of tall round arches on columns with acanthus-leafed capitals,

Capua Cathedral : The Campanile.

Capua : Interior of Sant' Angelo in Formis.

ten on either side, and a high clerestory wall pierced with small circular-headed windows. Each transept is composed of one square groined bay. The crossing forms the *chorus* and is surmounted by an octagonal dome carried upon four tall just-Pointed arches, with pendentives springing from angle-shafts. The drum of the cupola has a blind arcade of semicircular arches on slender attached shafts. The eastern limb, square-ended, is modern, and the *chorus* is furnished with fifteenth-century stalls.

Externally Caserta Vecchia Cathedral is engaging. The unbroken wall of the façade follows in outline the interior section. Three plain square-headed doorways under round bearing arches are guarded by monsters. Over the central door is a single round-headed window with corbelled shafts, a horizontal arched corbel table surmounted by a low gable, whose surface is relieved by interlacing arches, completing the façade.

The tower, placed at the south-west angle, is imposing. It was finished in 1234, and its surface presents interlacing arcades, windows of two openings, and angle turrets.

The north and south sides of the church are very plain, aisle and clerestory presenting a series of small round-headed windows. The transept fronts have low gables faced with blind arcades, and are lighted by small windows of horse-shoe form. Most remarkable of the external features is the central lantern, a structure, in all probability, of the thirteenth century. It is decorated with mosaics in the Sicilian manner, in stories of blind intersecting arcades. Between the stories is a band of square panels; a belt at the level of the upper capitals, and a frieze under the cornice are similarly decorated, as is also the whole surface of the upper wall.

Foggia

Foggia Cathedral is an ancient Romanesque church of the eleventh century, cruciform in plan, with the unusual addition of aisles to its transepts, but unfortunately much changed by repeated alterations. The crypt, extending under the whole church, is the most interesting portion, and is remarkable for being divided into two parts by a solid wall across the east end of that portion upon which the nave of the church is built. The said wall is pierced by three doors. The crypt, which can only be entered from the transepts, is groined on piers with a cruciform section, except the square at the crossing, where four small columns are used instead of piers. In each transept is a semicircular apse formed in the thickness of the wall, so that it is not visible from without. The upper church corresponds in plan with the substructure. Much damaged by an earthquake in 1731, it was rebuilt in the Classical style at that time in vogue. Here, as in the crypt, the transept and choir have aisles on either side of them, the former having *niched* apses in their eastern walls. The choir has a square end, but in all probability it originally terminated apsidally. The façade, in two stages, is rectangular, the lower portion dating from the eleventh century, and the upper from the succeeding one. In the latter a strong Norman influence is perceptible. The eleventh-century portion has a blind arcade of five equal round arches on flat pilasters, the middle one of which encloses a modern square-headed door surmounted by a plain Pointed arch. Of the side arcades, two have a window of two lights, and two a circle within the head of the arch filled with mosaic.

The two stories of the façade are separated by a decorated horizontal cornice, above which, in the centre, is a large wheel window under a Pointed arch and flanked by coupled columns, beyond which, on either side, are blind arcades similar to those below. The greatest breadth of this church, viz., at the transept, is 136 feet.

Nola

Nola Cathedral is the rebuilding of an older church and dates in its present form from the end of the fourteenth century. It is a basilica 100 feet long by 60 high, the nave being separated from its aisles by arcades and opening into a transept with three eastern apses. Numerous narrow windows light the aisles and clerestory. The façade has three doorways, over the central one of which are two arched windows and a circle. Under the church is a crypt dedicated to St Felix, with three rows of columns. The church has of late years been rescued from a ruinous condition by the Government.

Otranto

Otranto Cathedral is a parallel-triapsidal basilica whose foundation is assigned to the sixth century, but its original character has been much changed by repeated alterations during the eighth, tenth and eleventh centuries. The nave is separated from its aisles by six round arches carried

upon columns, and opens into a transept forming a continuation of the aisles. The pavement of the nave and aisles is a remarkable mosaic one, with figures of men, beasts, and foliage in red, black and green marbles on a white ground, but much damaged in the Saracenic occupation of Otranto in 1480 by the trampling of the Turkish horses. The crypt under the transept is one of the most remarkable in the south of Italy, being divided from north to south into nine aisles, and into seven from east to west. The arches are round, and supported on granite and marble columns, with capitals of varying design—antique, Lombard, Byzantine—and with prominent entablatures supporting a groined vaulting.

Molfetta

This small cathedral is interesting from the evidence it affords of Byzantine influence, observable in the domes with which, like the Angoumois churches of Aquitaine, its two-bayed nave is vaulted. It also presents that Apulian feature, the straight wall, which, uniting two slender towers, is carried across the east end of the church regardless of the apse. The base of this wall is relieved with a series of intersecting arcades, above which is a single round-headed window lighting the apse within. The transepts project but slightly beyond the nave aisles. Externally their eastern walls are rectangular, but internally apses are formed in the thickness of them. Over the space at the junction of the nave and transepts with the apsidal sanctuary is a higher dome, elliptical in section, round within but octagonal without. The nave aisles,

which are very narrow, have half-barrel vaults springing from the lower part of the walls, and are divided into two bays transversely, by clustered shafts carrying round-headed arches. Although of limited dimensions, the interior of Molfetta Cathedral is extremely dignified and impressive.

Ravello

Ravello Cathedral, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and San Pantaleone, is an eleventh-century church, cruciform in plan, and although much modernized, retains its ancient character in a considerable degree. Of the façade, only the lower portion is of the eleventh century. Here are three fine doorways of Lombardic character, the bronze valves of the central one being the finest in South Italy. They are divided into fifty-four panels, enriched with figure subjects in alto-relievo, and bear the date 1179. The tower, attached to the south transept wall, rises in four stages. The lowest is crowned with an arched corbel table ; the second and third are faced with red and yellow tiles and are pierced with two-light windows under a discharging arch ; the fourth has a blind arcade of interlacing arches in black and yellow terra-cotta on black pilasters, the whole forming a pleasing display of natural polychromy. The nave has, or had, nine round arches on either side, somewhat stilted, and divided into three groups by oblong piers alternating with pairs of columns. The latter are of red marble, with capitals varying in design. Down the faces of the piers pilasters are carried, to support the ribs of the late vaulting.

Ravello Cathedral enshrines one of the grandest and most sumptuous pulpits of the Middle Ages in Italy. Its date is 1272, written on the marble by the "marmoravius" —as he styles himself—of Foggia, who executed it. It is of white marble, inlaid with *opus Alexandrinum* in the richest possible manner. The six shafts on which it is supported are spirally moulded, and inlaid with mosaic, and rest on lions' backs. The mosaic is all let into panels surrounded with carving of the most delicate character. The brilliancy of the marble, the delicacy and bright colours of the endlessly varied patterns of glass mosaic, and the richness of the carving, place this pulpit at Ravello among the most exquisite works of the kind in the whole of Italy. Nor is it less remarkable for some of its sculpture.

It is approached by a staircase guarded at the foot by a doorway, over which is a bust of a queen, executed with considerable technical skill, and of a fair and stately presence. The size of this pulpit is very considerable, but it is only one of the many of its age and class with which the churches of Southern Italy are so liberally endowed. Under the transept is a crypt, comprising seven aisles of three groined bays each.

Ruvo

Ruvo Cathedral is a small rectangular basilica, rebuilt at the beginning of the twelfth century, and about 100 feet long by 65 feet wide. The façade, of much elegance, has an unusual outline, the central or nave gable being very narrow in proportion to the rest. The flanking half gables

cover both aisles and chapels, but there is no vertical distinction in the shape of an engaged column or a pilaster between the nave and aisle divisions of the front. The ground storey presents three shallow wall-arcades, of which the central arch is Pointed while the flanking ones are semicircular. These arches spring from half columns attached to piers with vigorously-sculptured capitals, and enclose doorways, the central one being almost unexampled for the richness and profusion of its mouldings. Equally rich but less grandly dimensioned are the flanking doorways. The wall above is quite plain except for some pierced ornament in the shape of a quatrefoil imposed upon a square, over each of the shallow arches below, and a carved circle with bosses of sculpture at its four cardinal points, giving it a cruciform appearance, over the central compartment. Surmounting this last is the usual round-headed, two-light window, and, still higher, a large and fine wheel of twelve trifoliated compartments, over which is a semicircular niche containing a seated figure.

The present cathedral is the rebuilding of an older church dating perhaps from the end of the eighth century, and was in course of erection between 1060 and 1110. Its lofty nave is separated from the aisles by five round arches on either side springing from square piers, with half columns on three sides, while on the faces towards the nave, vaulting shafts were added, although this part of the church remains ceiled with wood. Evidently vaulting was contemplated. Over the arches runs a decorated string-course on vigorously-sculptured corbels, over which is a range of grouped windows divided by columns, and covered by an obtuse bearing arch, evidently intended to

light an upper aisle, of which there are no traces. Above is a range of smaller single clerestory windows blocked up. The aisles are groined in square bays separated by arches spanning them transversely, and from the end bay opens a shallow rectangular chapel, likewise groined. The broad transept has a wooden ceiling like the nave, and crosses the church in three equal bays, with three eastern apses.

Salerno

Salerno Cathedral, originally dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, but afterwards to St Matthew, whose body is believed to have been translated here in the middle of the tenth century, was a fine eleventh-century structure consecrated in 1084. Unfortunately in 1722 a practical rebuilding took place, square piers being introduced in lieu of the original columns, and the interior so generally transformed by the vicious rococo taste of that period that as a whole it is quite jejune architecturally. One of the portions that escaped these wretched alterations is the great quadrangular atrium before the west end. It is 113 feet by 102, and is surrounded by vaulted walks opening into the quadrangle by arcades of antique columns of various kinds of marble taken partly from the ruins of Pæstum and partly from those of Rome. These columns support round arches. The plain façade of the nave and the lean-to gables of the aisles are seen rising behind the eastern ambulatory of this imposing forecourt. The central doorway of the nave is provided with fine bronze doors from

Constantinople, presented to the church in 1079. On the south side rises a campanile in several stages, the lower ones of which date from about 1130. The crypt, remarkable for its rich decorations, has its vaults supported upon square piers whose faces are inlaid with costly marbles. Figure subjects and scrolls, with arabesques, adorn the roofs of this substructure, which consists of three aisles, each of eight bays and each terminating in an apse. The pulpit and screens in this cathedral are among the most remarkable examples of their age and class in this part of the peninsula.

Terracina

Terracina Cathedral occupies the site of the old Temple of Rome and of Augustus. Theodoric is said to have founded this cathedral, as his name appears in an inscription on it. In plan it is a parallel-triapsidal basilica without transepts. Of the six round arches on antique columns which comprise the nave arcade on either side, the easternmost one is much wider than the rest, giving the idea that it opens into a transept. The capitals and the main apse have been modernized, but the old pavement, the mediæval pulpit, the episcopal throne and the ciborium over the high altar have been preserved.

Across the façade is an open porch or narthex, built or renovated in the middle of the twelfth century, with a range of ten antique Ionic columns in front, two of which are supported on lions' backs.

The architrave is enriched with an arabesque in mosaic,

and on the façade behind is a Pointed arcade. The campanile has four stories of blind arcades crowned by a modern roof.

Trani

Trani Cathedral, built on a piece of land surrounded on nearly all its sides by the sea, is one of the most remarkable ecclesiastical monuments in Apulia. It is a basilica, measuring internally about 180 feet by 65. The nave, 120 feet long and nearly 70 feet high, is separated from its aisles by seven arches upon columns coupled transversely, with composite capitals and heavy abaci. The aisles are lighted by small round-headed windows placed high up in the walls. Above the nave arches is a triforium of triple arcades united under a round bearing arch, with the tympanum unpierced, and over this is a clerestory of small round-headed windows. The bays of the aisles are groined in square compartments. The transepts are lighted by coupled windows, round-headed and of two lights, the space above the lights being unpierced ; these windows are surmounted by a wheel. As in most churches of this period in South Italy there is no bay intermediate between the crossing and the apse, whose external decoration with wall shafts and arches, though less rich than that of some churches in Apulia—Troja, for example—is very beautiful, and taken in conjunction with that of the lesser apses on the eastern faces of the transepts forms an architectural ensemble of great beauty.

Extending completely under the church is a noble crypt, divided into two portions, at the end of the nave, by

a solid wall with a single doorway in the middle. The portion under the transepts and apse is lower by several steps. The whole space is divided by lines of columns into square-groined bays, and lighted by large windows in the faces of the transepts. The great central apse is repeated in the crypt, but in the transepts there is only a square recess in the thickness of the wall, which, outside, appears circular. This crypt at Trani is so much above the ground that it is entered by a door under a double staircase which leads up to the main doorway of the nave—a broad, round arch with heavy archivolts and sculpture showing a mixture of Norman and Byzantine influence. It is furnished with bronze doors, on which some notes are given earlier in these pages. There is no division in the façade between the nave portion and that of the lean-to aisles, so that on either side the central doorway is an unbroken series of four round arches on engaged columns, one of which arches on either side is pierced with a square doorway opening to the aisles. Above these arcades is a considerable space of blank wall, then in the central portion of the front is a richly-moulded round-headed window once flanked by corbelled shafts, and surmounted by a circular one from which the tracery has disappeared. The moulding in the rim of this window is especially rich. In the flanking portions of the façade that are level with the round-headed window are smaller ones of similar character but unglazed. Attached to the south side of the front, and without any break in the line of walling, is a very fine six-storied campanile, surmounted by an octagonal turret and short spire. The fenestration of the stages of this tower varies, the number of openings in the windows increasing in number as it rises. The lowest stage is a single high

Pointed open arch through which is a passage way. The walls of the aisles present the blind arcade usual in the Apulian churches ; but at Trani the arches are sprung from well-marked buttresses with simple base and capital. Above this aisle arcading is seen the perfectly plain wall of the triforium stage with its lean-to roof, and above this again the clerestory regularly pierced with small round-headed windows. Although severely simple this side elevation of Trani Cathedral is very noble and imposing ; no less so is the transept with its grand gable, alongside whose walls the arcading of the nave aisles is carried, but with this distinction, that here the arcades are broken up into pairs by a shallow round-headed arch. Above the horizontal decorated cornice of the transept, with its bold projecting corbels in the form of animals and human figures, the gabled roof of the transept is carried considerably above that of the nave with most imposing effect, from north to south.

The Church of the Ognissanti at Trani belongs to the Lombard occupation of South Italy, and is ascribed to the early part of the ninth century. In plan it is a rectangle, 70 feet by 40, one third of its length being taken up by a fine open porch or narthex extending the whole width of the church divided by round arches on columns into six equal square-groined bays. Three arched doorways with carved tympana connect this open porch with the basilica, which in plan is parallel-triapsidal, the central apse having a richly-sculptured frieze on corbels, and one window with a round archivolt springing from slender columns resting on lion corbels. Above the southern apse rises a low tower. The nave is flat-ceiled, but the aisles are groined. There are no transepts, and the nave is divided from its aisles

by four round arches somewhat stilted, resting on granite columns with Corinthian capitals, corresponding to the vaulting shafts in the aisle walls.

Sta Maria Immaculata, a small church dating from the first half of the eleventh century, is of singularly Byzantine design. It was raised on the ruins, and preserves the disposition of an older structure, probably of the ninth century. In plan it is a rectangle about 72 feet long by 52 wide, with a nave and aisles and a square-ended choir projecting eastward.

The western part of the church is divided into nine bays by cross arches resting on four grouped piers. The nave and *quasi* transept rise above the rest in a cruciform roof gabled on all sides, and the central dome, round within and octagonal without, but covered with a pyramidal roof, rises higher. The ends of the nave are covered with flat domes, and the aisles with half-barrel vaults, of which the crown abuts against the base of the domes. The choir is groined in one single square bay. In the centre of the façade is a single door with a round arched window above flanked by columns over which is a rose, and an arched corbel table follows the slope of the gable. This little church is one of a group which can all be referred to a period not much later than the ninth century, and which are doubtless survivals of a great group of early churches built wholly or in part under Byzantine influence, the greater number of which have long since disappeared.

Besides the Immaculata at Trani, the Cathedral and Church of Sta Maria dei Martiri at Molfetta, Sta Sabina at Canosa, the little church at Stilo called La Cattolica, San Marco at Rossano, and Sta Maria delle Cinque Torri at San Germano, at the foot of the hill crowned by the

monastery of Monte Cassino, whether of Byzantine origin or not, are remarkable exhibitions of that multiplying of domes which subsequently had such an influence upon the architecture of Western France.

Troja

Troja Cathedral, a Latin cross in plan, comprises a nave of seven bays, deep square-ended transepts, and a choir with aisles, also square-ended, of one bay, terminating in an apse. The façade is very noble and recalls those of the Lucchese and Pisan churches. It is in two stages, the lower one of which presents a series of semicircular wall-arcades on engaged columns with quasi-Corinthian capitals. The central arch, which is higher and wider than the three on either side of it, encloses the principal doorway, furnished with fine bronze valves of 1119, its lintel, reaching to half the height of the engaged wall shaft on either side of it, being heavily sculptured and supported on those broad pilasters characteristic of the Tuscan Romanesque. This carries a plain round bearing arch without any sculpture or mosaic in its tympanum. The arch-heads of the flanking arcades are filled with an inlay of marbles, and are furthermore filled with large ornaments in the shape of circles and diamonds, while the space between the bearing arch of the doorway and the wide central one of the wall-arcading has a group of bas-reliefs enclosed in symmetrically-disposed panels. A richly-moulded cornice separates this stage of the front from the upper one, the central portion of which is occupied by a large circular window, whose tracery of

intersecting Pointed arches radiates from a circle. The spaces formed by the interlacings of the Pointed lights with the rim of the great circle are solid, but enriched with a small trefoiled ornament. This western rose at Troja Cathedral is spanned by an arch rising from coupled shafts supported on lions which in their turn rest upon the richly-carved corbel table between the two divisions of the façade, and an archivolt somewhat coarsely moulded enriches the upper half of it.

The north and south elevations of this cathedral are very beautiful, and continue the design of the lower part of the façade, though the lozenges and circles occupying the heads of the wall arcades present a greater variety of ornamentation, one circle enclosing interlacing triangles being especially graceful. In one instance the arcading is broken by a doorway similar in motif to the western one, the wall space above it being relieved with mosaic patterns disposed around a large circle. On the south side the clerestory has a blind arcade of eleven arches on slender shafts, with the voussoirs patterned in black and white, the wall within each alternate arcade being broken by a round-headed window. The whole is pleasing from its simple, solemn beauty.

The exterior of the apse is distinctly Lombard in character, and extremely rich in ensemble. The wall is adorned with semicircular arches rising from two tiers of columns, the bases of the upper tier resting upon stilt blocks running back into the wall, which in their turn rest upon the abaci of those in the lower one. All these columns, which stand free of the apse wall, have capitals presenting a wonderful variety of sculptured ornament, those of the first tier being charged with grotesque Lombard beasts,

while in the lower ones we find foliage of the Corinthian kind. The central point of the apse is pierced with the one large round-headed window usual in South Italian Romanesque, its carved lintel being carried on columns which rest upon lions issuing from behind the columns of the arcade. Internally the nave is separated from its aisles, which are groined in square bays by tall granite columns with Corinthian capitals. There is no triforium. A flat ceiling covers both nave and transept.

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